



Failed State:  
The Sources of  
Pakistan's Chaos

The Unseen  
Struggle of  
Autistic Adults



Summer Arts Preview:  
From Harry Potter  
To Thomas Pynchon

# TIME

## The Future Of Work




Throw away the briefcase: you're not going to the **office**. You can kiss your **benefits** goodbye too. And your **new boss** won't look much like your old one. There's no longer a ladder, and you may **never get to retire**, but there's a world of **opportunity** if you figure out a new path. **Ten lessons** for succeeding in the new American workplace.





theoretically,  
it seats 6.75 billion.



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most importantly, an affordable price tag. It's the hybrid designed  
and priced for us all. The new Insight.  from Honda. for everyone.



clear



blurry/wavy



blind spot

## If you aren't seeing clearly, you should have your eyes checked.

Most people don't know that blindness—in people aged 60 years and older—is most commonly caused by a chronic condition called wet age-related macular degeneration (wet AMD). The good news is that wet AMD doesn't happen overnight, though in some people it can develop very quickly. Early symptoms include wavy lines, hazy vision, and blurriness. So what should you do? Call an ophthalmologist at the first signs of symptoms, because early detection of wet AMD is key.

Already diagnosed with wet AMD? Make sure you see a retina specialist, an eye doctor with special training and equipment for treating back-of-the-eye diseases such as macular degeneration.

**At the American Society of Retina Specialists (ASRS) and  
Genentech, we want you to see the world as clearly as possible.**

*This educational message was made possible by the ASRS and Genentech.*



**Genentech**

## 4 | 10 QUESTIONS

Jim Cramer on the financial crisis and Jon Stewart

## 7 | POSTCARD: KANSAS CITY

## 8 | INBOX



**Boo-yah!** Cramer talks money, madness, page 4

## BRIEFING

**11 | THE MOMENT** Will Obama act forcefully to stop the civilian suffering in Sri Lanka?

**12 | THE WORLD** Oil to flow in Kurdistan; space shuttle *Atlantis* visits aging Hubble

**14 | HISTORY** Why do Catholic priests have to be celibate? (Don't ask Peter's mother-in-law)

**15 | VERBATIM** A Somali pirate reconsiders; Republicans land a big-fish Senate hopeful

**16 | POP CHART** Twitter goes to space; Maggie Simpson and Miss California speak

**17 | MILESTONES** Isiah Thomas remembers NBA coach Chuck Daly; Iran releases journalist

## COMMENTARY

**18 | VIEWPOINT** Mike Murphy: Why isn't Obama asking for sacrifice?

**19 | IN THE ARENA** Joe Klein on Afghan-Pakistani teamwork

**Baby Rand** Maggie does Fountainhead, page 16



PAGE 4 11 18 20 39 57 62 68



**Job relocation** Where work is going tomorrow, page 39



**Pakistan's peril** Many peoples, a common crisis, page 20

On the cover: Photo-Illustration for TIME by Arthur Hochstein. Top: Hula Images—Getty. Bottom: George Marks/Retrofile—Getty. Insets, from left: Alixandra Fazzina for TIME; Warner Bros.

## THE WELL

**20 | WORLD: PAKISTAN** To fend off the Taliban, it must drop the blame game and face its flaws

**28 | WORLD: CHINA** A secret journal tells the inside story of Tiananmen

**30 | NATION** How the President's plans are being complicated—by his own party

**32 | SOCIETY: ADULT AUTISM** A brother's story, and the coming crisis of care

## COVER STORY

**39 | SPECIAL REPORT: THE FUTURE OF WORK** Where, how and for whom you'll toil tomorrow

**53 | BUSINESS** ROUNDTABLE TIME 100 panelists on what's next for capitalism

## LIFE

**57 | SOCIAL NORMS** Unmarried, with children: more couples are deciding to live together and even raise a family without tying the knot

**61 | FAMILY TECH** At 3 lb. and \$400, netbooks are a tempting deal—as long as you can get online

## ARTS

**62 | SUMMER PREVIEW** It's the season of trash, treasure and, one hopes, both at once. Sacha Baron Cohen is up to new tricks in *Brüno*, while Meryl Streep cooks as Julia Child, Conan O'Brien gets promoted, Richard Avedon's chic photography turns heads and Thomas Pynchon sneaks out a new novel. Our guide to a hot time in '09

**Hot spell** Potter returns this summer, page 62

**68 | ESSAY** Will you vote to bar Joel Stein from ever writing about hockey again? The puck is in your rink



TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two issues combined at year-end by Time Inc. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020-1393. Ann H. Moore, Chairman, CEO. Periodicals postage paid at New York, New York, and at additional mailing offices. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canada addresses to: Postmaster: Send address changes to TIME, P.O. Box 30601, Tampa, FL 33630-0601. Mailing list: We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call, or write us at P.O. Box 00001, Tampa, FL 33630, or send us an e-mail at [privacy@time.com](mailto:privacy@time.com). Printed in the U.S.



# 10 Questions. Boo-yah! The *Mad Money* host talks stocks, the recession and Jon Stewart.

## Jim Cramer will now take your questions



### Next Questions

Ask Larry King your questions for an upcoming interview at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

In the summer of 2007 you appeared on TV screaming that Ben Bernanke had no idea how bad things were on Wall Street. After what has happened, weren't you too calm?

Gonzalo Soto Campero  
MEXICO CITY

A lot of people criticized me for being off the deep end when I shouted from the rooftops that things were falling apart. Then a lot of people criticized me for not shouting it from the rooftops. For the most part, I've been trashed for everything I've done.

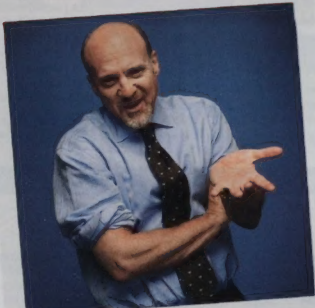
Do you regret going on *The Daily Show* in the first place?

John Puterbaugh, DEKALB, ILL.  
No one wants to suffer a beat-down. No one wants to be humiliated or embarrassed. I was shocked at [host Jon Stewart's] behavior. I wish he knew about my background, and I wish he knew about a lot of things that I had done, because I think he would've thanked me instead of attacked me.

You seemed to take Stewart's criticism personally, but he was really making a larger point about the failures of CNBC and other financial outlets. Do you think CNBC did a good job anticipating and reporting on the financial meltdown?

Mark Sutter, DETROIT  
I think CNBC's done a remarkable job, and I think the attack on CNBC and the attacks on me were gravely misplaced. It was rather remarkable in that it was so clear that his goal was to just destroy me. One day he'll answer for it.

Do you believe we will look back on the financial inno-



ventions of the last several decades with regret?

Francis Murray, WASHINGTON  
They almost brought our country down. The only guy who really called this right was Karl Marx. Marx understood what would happen if you let the market run amok. Of course, it was done by right-wing Republicans. They brought our nation to its knees, and we're not going to end up being a great power because of what happened.

Money is being spent before it can be printed. At what point will we run into crippling inflation?

Nick Augustine  
POPLAR GROVE, ILL.  
That's exactly what they were worried about in 1929 to 1931.

Hoover was very worried about tremendous inflation, so he did his best to avoid that, and we had the greatest depression in history. So perhaps we learn from history and worry about inflation after we worry about taking a Great Depression off the table.

Do you think that young people have been scared out of the stock market forever?

Brianna Morrissey  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
Yeah, I think so. It became a mug's game. Unless we bring back the regulations that we had pre-Bush, unless we prosecute the bad actors, I think they should be scared.

Is it safe to start reinvesting a small portion back in stocks

again, or are we better off investing in real estate?

Justine Sherburne  
RHODE ISLAND

I think that real estate is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, because there are no competitive buyers. Mortgage rates are the lowest in my life. Affordability is the best in my life. Clearly, real estate is much better than stocks right now.

Is this a good time to start an online business?

Deborah Lee, LAS VEGAS  
It is a great time if you have some capital to establish yourself, but if you don't, you could run out, and then you gotta go back to looking for a paycheck.

Who's Jim Cramer's Jim Cramer? What person do you turn to for financial advice?

Edward Kaufholz  
WINTER PARK, FLA.  
There's a bunch of guys I really respect. I respect my friend Doug Kass, who had called the market's absolute bottom, 630 on the S&P. That was just an unbelievable, home-run call. I also still go back and look at what Peter Lynch wrote.

Are you as loud in real life as you are on your show?

Matt Robinson, NASHVILLE  
That's a great question. I don't know which is me anymore. When I'm on the street and you stop me, no, I'm not "Boo-yah!"



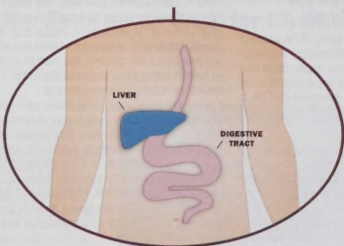
VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Jim Cramer and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

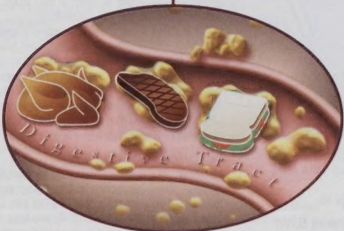
# An inside look at a **different** way to help lower cholesterol.

Statins, a good option, work mainly with the liver.

**ZETIA works in the digestive tract**, as do some other cholesterol-lowering medicines.



Cholesterol from food is absorbed when it enters the digestive tract.



**ZETIA is unique** in the way it helps block the absorption of cholesterol that comes from food.

**Unlike some statins**, ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.



A healthy diet and exercise are important, but sometimes they're not enough to get your cholesterol where it needs to be. ZETIA can complement your efforts. When added to a healthy diet, ZETIA can lower bad cholesterol (LDL) by an average of 18%.

Individual results may vary.

#### **Important Risk Information About ZETIA:**

ZETIA is a prescription medicine and should not be taken by people who are allergic to any of its ingredients. If you have ever had liver problems, are nursing or pregnant or may become pregnant, a doctor will decide if ZETIA alone is right for you.

Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. In clinical studies, patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and tiredness.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

**Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.** For more information, call 1-800-98-ZETIA or visit [zetia.com](http://zetia.com).

**Zetia®**  
(ezetimibe) Tablets

**A different way to help  
fight cholesterol**

**Ask your doctor if ZETIA is right for you.**



To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-347-7503.

**Merck/Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals**

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# ZETIA® (ezetimibe) Tablets

## Patient Information about ZETIA (zēt'-ē-ā)

Generic name: ezetimibe (ē-zēt'-ē-mīb)

Read this information carefully before you start taking ZETIA and each time you get more ZETIA. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about ZETIA, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if ZETIA is right for you.

### What is ZETIA?

ZETIA is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol and LDL (bad) cholesterol in the blood. ZETIA is for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet and exercise alone. It can be used by itself or with other medicines to treat high cholesterol. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

ZETIA works to reduce the amount of cholesterol your body absorbs. ZETIA does not help you lose weight. ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

For more information about cholesterol, see the "What should I know about high cholesterol?" section that follows.

### Who should not take ZETIA?

- Do not take ZETIA if you are allergic to ezetimibe, the active ingredient in ZETIA, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section that follows.
- If you have active liver disease, do not take ZETIA while taking cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins.
- If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, do not take ZETIA while taking a statin.
- If you are a woman of childbearing age, you should use an effective method of birth control to prevent pregnancy while using ZETIA added to statin therapy.

ZETIA has not been studied in children under age 10.

### What should I tell my doctor before and while taking ZETIA?

Tell your doctor about any prescription and non-prescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies. Tell your doctor if you:

- ever had liver problems. ZETIA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- are breast-feeding. We do not know if ZETIA can pass to your baby through your milk. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness.

### How should I take ZETIA?

- Take ZETIA once a day, with or without food. It may be easier to remember to take your dose if you do it at the same time every day, such as with breakfast, dinner, or at bedtime. If you also take another medicine to reduce your cholesterol, ask your doctor if you can take them at the same time.
- If you forget to take ZETIA, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take more than one dose of ZETIA a day.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking ZETIA. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking ZETIA unless your doctor tells you to stop. It is important that you keep taking ZETIA even if you do not feel sick.

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking ZETIA with a statin and during treatment.

### What are the possible side effects of ZETIA?

In clinical studies patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and feeling tired.

Patients have experienced severe muscle problems while taking ZETIA, usually when ZETIA was added to a statin drug. If you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness while taking ZETIA, contact your doctor immediately. You need to do this promptly, because on rare occasions, these muscle problems can be serious, with muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.

Additionally, the following side effects have been reported in general use: allergic reactions (which may require treatment right away) including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing, rash, and hives; joint pain; muscle aches; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; dizziness; tingling sensation; depression; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on ZETIA. For a complete list of side effects, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

### What should I know about high cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a type of fat found in your blood. Your total cholesterol is made up of LDL and HDL cholesterol.

LDL cholesterol is called "bad" cholesterol because it can build up in the wall of your arteries and form plaque. Over time, plaque build-up can cause a narrowing of the arteries. This narrowing can slow or block blood flow to your heart, brain, and other organs. High LDL cholesterol is a major cause of heart disease and one of the causes for stroke.

HDL cholesterol is called "good" cholesterol because it keeps the bad cholesterol from building up in the arteries.

Triglycerides also are fats found in your blood.

### General information about ZETIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use ZETIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ZETIA to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about ZETIA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about ZETIA that is written for health professionals.

### Inactive ingredients:

Croscarmellose sodium, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, povidone, and sodium lauryl sulfate.



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Manufactured for:

Merck/Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals

North Wales, PA 19454, USA

By:

Schering Corporation

Kenilworth, NJ 07033, USA

or Merck & Co., Inc., Whitehouse Station, NJ 08889, USA

Issued June 2008

REV 17

29480842T

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Printed in USA. U.S. Patent Nos. 5,846,966; 7,030,106 and RE37,721.

20950061(3)(842)-ZET



# Postcard: Kansas City. Americans too rich for foreclosure but too poor for derivatives may get a bailout of their own. They just have to buy a new car. **Taking the Feds up on Cash for Clunkers**

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

**Global Dispatch**  
For more postcards  
from around the world,  
visit [time.com](http://time.com)

**I**T'S OFFICIAL: OUR MINIVAN IS A TOXIC asset. The toxic part I knew already. Between the catastrophic diaper failure while touring Amish country circa 2004 and the projectile-vomiting episode on the way to the beach in '01—not to mention the midsummer milk spill of '03—my family van has been a rolling Superfund site for years.

The news flash is *asset*. Thanks to the cash-for-clunkers program cooked up in Congress by crafty old John Dingell of Michigan, our 2001 Honda Odyssey may actually be worth something—up to \$4,500 if we trade it in for a new, more efficient vehicle. That works out to nearly a dollar per dent, scratch, stain and tear.

My first reaction to this news was shock. Sometime after I backed into a stump but before I clipped the neighbor's garage—actually it was around the time the babysitter creased an inch-deep furrow along the entire passenger side—I stopped thinking of the van as having any monetary value whatsoever.

I resolved to drive it for at least 10 years—or until I developed a capacity for shame, whichever came first—before paying someone to take it off my hands. Now I see it with fresh eyes. It's no longer a sun-bleached hulk with the rear wiper snapped off. It's a wipeless hulk worth *thousands*. If this is socialism, call me comrade!

The idea, I realize, is to lure the Von Drehle clan out of our gas hog and start us tooling around our Kansas City, Mo., suburb in a two-seater powered by switchgrass and meditation. Unfortunately, with four kids in grade school, we need a minivan. So is this program for us? To find out, I visited [www.fueleconomy.gov](http://www.fueleconomy.gov), which makes it easy to compare the efficiency of just about every car imaginable.

With a few clicks, I determined that our current van averages 16 miles per gallon in the city and 23 m.p.g. highway, which somehow averages out, according to the government, to 18 m.p.g.—right



**The sticky cup holders cost extra** Author Von Drehle and family stress-test their Honda minivan

on the cusp for Dingell's plan. Given our relatively light usage—around 8,000 miles per year—this translates to about 5.4 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and 10.1 bbl. of oil consumed each year. Could be worse, though in the "air pollution" category, the old girl rates a pitiful 1 on a scale of 10 (and that's not counting the stench of fossilized chicken nuggets).

Could we do better? A 2009 Odyssey averages 20 m.p.g., two more than our clunker. That's enough of an improvement to earn us \$3,500, should we qualify for the plan. Upgrading would also shave half a ton from our carbon footprint and reduce our nation's dependence on foreign oil by an entire barrel. Not to mention leather seats.

Maybe we should buy American, though. The new Chrysler Town & Country is virtually identical to the latest Odyssey in fuel efficiency and emissions, which means the \$3,500 is still dangling. I'd be paying a boatload for such a fine ride, but as a taxpayer, I'm writing regular checks to Chrysler anyway. What's one more?

To pocket the big money, the \$4,500, I would need to find a buggy that averages

5 or more m.p.g. better than our current wreck. The Mazda 5 minivan, with manual transmission, which averages 24 m.p.g., spews just 4.1 tons of carbon and sips a mere 7.6 bbl. per year. It's a van a guy could proudly drive Al Gore and the Dalai Lama to lunch in, although I evidently would have to grease them up before squishing them into the tiny backseat.

All in all, a tough call. On the one hand, I could get a new car, reacquaint myself with some of the tax dollars I so patriotically pay and—who knows?—maybe help out a polar bear or two. On the other hand, something about this past year has me feeling less than flush.

And there is such a thing as sentimental value. My clunker has loads of that. We raised three babies and a toddler in that old van, which means it was doomed from the start to be both filthy and loved. That trim we sheared off during our first family vacation. The crayon mural across the backseat. The permanent apple-juice glaze at the bottom of the cup holders. We have stories, and memories, to match every disgusting inch of that van.

I guess it's true what they say. It is hard to put a price on toxic assets.



# Inbox



## The TIME 100

I READ TIME'S PICK OF "THE WORLD'S MOST Influential People" with great pleasure [May 11]. I found the articles fascinating, even poetic at times—until I got to Ann Coulter's essay on Sarah Palin. All of the other writers praise their candidates without disparaging someone else. Coulter, who in this case insults John McCain, seems incapable of such an approach.

Melanie Hart, TROY, MICH.

COULTER WAS CORRECT THAT PALIN WAS responsible for "more votes than the usual vice-presidential candidate." What I think Coulter missed was that most of those votes went to the other ticket.

Erin Pagel, REDLANDS, CALIF.

AFTER READING THE TIME 100, I CAME TO several conclusions. First, the world is apparently being shaped by virtual unknowns. Second, in many cases, the real influential people seem to be the ones writing the essays. And third, aren't the media that report on the events that most affect Americans among the most influential? Curiously, their names were missing.

The Rev. Al Dettner, ERIE, PA.

LIKE MOST AMERICANS, I AM A FAN OF JAY Leno. Now I am also a fan of Chris Buck. I was blown away when I came to Buck's picture of Leno. Prior to that moment, I could not imagine it was possible to cap-

ture in one picture the unique mirth that is Leno (that chin, the look in his eye) and at the same time depict the distinguished statesman of comedians he has become. Kudos to Buck.

David Simon, MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIF.

UNTIL I READ MICHAEL MOORE'S PIECE ON Bernie Madoff, I believed Moore was so misinformed and off the wall that if he said that gravity makes objects fall, I would stop believing in the laws of physics. I found myself agreeing with his every word. The managers and brokers who facilitated the greed should also be reviled. They all should have followed the example of another "most influential": truth-telling Wall Street analyst Meredith Whitney.

Ted Zaydel, WATERFORD, MICH.

AS A SAUDI CITIZEN, I STRONGLY DISAGREE with Liz Cheney that Deputy Minister for Women's Education Norah al-Faiz will face obstacles because she "can't, for example, work face to face with male counterparts without violating the kingdom's strict religious code." I believe in the female right of privacy. Most Saudi women feel that way as well. We have separate campuses at the university for men and women. Giving women their own places to work and compete is better than their being second-class employees, as in some Western countries.

Saleh Almuzaini, RIYADH

**"Someone should remind Ann Coulter that based on the results of the November election, 'normal' in this country is liberal, not right-wing."**

Ralph H. Kaden, POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y.

**Right and wrong** Coulter's TIME 100 essay on Sarah Palin irked many readers



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## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In the Milestones item on Bea Arthur, we misidentified her TV alter ego Maude [May 11]. Maude was the liberal cousin of *All in the Family*'s Edith Bunker, not Archie.

■ A TIME 100 caption for Ford CEO Alan Mulally misstated the amount he borrowed in 2006 to help Ford [May 11]. It was \$23 billion, not million.

HOW COULD TIME HAVE EXCLUDED BEN Bernanke, whose composure and decisive action averted an economic catastrophe?

Michael Matus, FORT MILL, S.C.

REALLY? CHEF DAN BARBER ONE OF THE premier "Scientists and Thinkers"? You've just redefined science.

John Hertner, KEARNEY, NEB.

THE TIME 100 WAS GREAT! WHILE I WOULD love to accomplish what most of these icons have, nothing would make me more proud than being thought of in the way Meg Ryan thinks of Tom Hanks.

Kent Hanson, EVERETT, WASH.

## Bobby, Let Me Follow You Down

JOE KLEIN ACTUALLY GETS IT CONCERNING Bob Dylan [May 11]. I have followed Dylan for more than 46 years, from his folk era to *Blonde on Blonde*, with its existential masterpiece "Visions of Johanna," and beyond. Albert Einstein said of Gandhi, "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this... walked upon this earth." I feel the same can be said of Dylan. I know he bristles at such adoration, but if he were in my shoes, he'd understand the appreciation and love. With so much evil in the world, humanity needs poets like Dylan who challenge us to think beyond the morass of banality that defines most of the human experience.

Jeffrey Van Middlebrook  
PACIFIC GROVE, CALIF.



aren't  
like



Our hallways are filled with plenty of high-profile thinkers. But only a handful of them can completely stop a room, including men like Dr. Ted Hoff, one of the inventors of Intel's very first microprocessor. Back in 1969 their Intel® 8008 microprocessor blew people's minds wide open - a tradition that's still very much alive. Learn more at [sponsorsoftomorrow.com](http://sponsorsoftomorrow.com).



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# Briefing

THE WORLD HISTORY VERBATIM

POP CHART MILESTONES



## The Moment

5/13/09: Sri Lanka

DURING LAST FALL'S PRESIDENTIAL campaign, Barack Obama hinted at how his Administration might act to stop suffering in the world. "We have to consider it as part of our interests... to intervene where possible," he said. Under the Obama doctrine, American power would be used to protect civilians from genocide and ethnic violence, even in places where no vital U.S. interests are at stake.

That doctrine is being tested in Sri Lanka. In recent weeks,

the Sri Lankan army's assault against the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has left thousands of ethnic Tamil civilians dead. At least 50,000 remain trapped on a two-mile sliver of land, blocked from leaving by rebel fighters and left to the mercy of government forces, which have shelled hospitals and shelters with impunity. On May 10, a government doctor in the combat zone reported that 300 to 1,000 civilians had died in a single night. Two days later,

an additional 49 were killed when artillery shells hit the only field hospital in the area. The next day, 50 more died.

This calamity has unfolded largely on Obama's watch. The Administration has threatened to block delivery of a

### A humanitarian calamity unfolds on a new U.S. President's watch

\$1.9 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund to the Sri Lankan government until it alleviates the humanitarian crisis. On May 13, Obama said he was "deeply saddened" by the situation and called for the rebels and the government to

give the U.N. access to those trapped in the combat zone.

There are no good guys in Sri Lanka. The LTTE is one of the world's cruelest terrorist groups and has often deployed child soldiers and suicide bombers. Atrocities have been carried out by both sides in the war. But the U.S. could still do more, like press for a U.N.-sponsored cease-fire, demand that the Sri Lankan government allow the delivery of relief supplies and threaten sanctions if it fails to comply. "There's a lot of cruelty in the world," Obama said last year. "We're not going to be everywhere all the time." True enough. But conscience insists that we try.

—BY ROMESH RATNESAR

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



## 1 | Florida

### A Final, Perilous Tune-Up

The space shuttle *Atlantis* is on a last maintenance mission to the aging Hubble Space Telescope before its replacement, the James Webb Space Telescope, takes to



the skies in 2014. It's a risky assignment: the Hubble's 350-mile-high orbit is cluttered with fast-moving "space junk" that could damage the craft. With the

International Space Station out of reach, a second shuttle, *Endeavour*, is ready to fetch the crew in case of an emergency.

**Celestial Sightseers: Hubble vs. Webb**

	HUBBLE	WEBB
ORBIT	353 miles from Earth	1 million miles from Earth
PRIMARY MIRROR SIZE	7.9 ft. in diameter	21.3 ft. in diameter
LENGTH	44 ft.	72 ft.
WEIGHT	24,500 lb.	14,300 lb.

## 2 | Miami

### On Third Try, Conviction in Terrorist Plot

After three years and two mistrials, a federal jury convicted five Miami-based men of conspiring to blow up the Sears Tower, Chicago's landmark skyscraper, in 2006. Ringleader Narseal Batiste, who was captured on tape swearing allegiance to al-Qaeda and threatening to "kill all the devils," faces up to 70 years in prison. He was the only suspect convicted on all charges—one was fully acquitted and one exonerated in a previous trial—in a protracted case that some experts said lacked convincing evidence. Defense lawyers vowed to appeal the convictions.



McKiernan, here with U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, lasted just 11 months in the role

## 3 | Washington

### A New Warlord in Afghanistan

General David McKiernan is being replaced as the top U.S. and NATO commander in Afghanistan by three-star Army Lieut. General Stanley McChrystal. It's the first dismissal of a wartime general since that of Douglas MacArthur during the Korean War. The appointment of McChrystal, a former special-ops chief credited with orchestrating the capture of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, signifies a more pointed, aggressive military posture in Afghanistan.

## 5 | Jerusalem

### Sins of Omission

Sometimes it's what you don't say that hurts. Pope Benedict XVI's visit to the Middle East, including historic trips to the Western Wall and the Dome of the Rock, drew complaints that the German Pontiff had glossed over Nazism in a May 11 speech on the Holocaust. Muslim leaders also awaited an apology, for his hinting in a 2006 speech that Islam was violent and irrational.



## 4 | Iraq

### Saying No to Kurdish Oil

The Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq says it will start exporting crude oil for the first time on June 1, despite a statement by the Iraqi Oil Ministry calling the plan illegal. The Kurds, who control some of the country's largest reserves, claim that the Iraqi constitution allows them to broker deals with foreign companies; the ministry maintains that it controls all oil contracts and that any firm that signs without its approval will be blacklisted.

Numbers:

15

YEARS

Backlog of retired U.S. warheads waiting to be dismantled, according to the National Nuclear Security Administration

1 IN 4

Ratio of overseas absentee ballots from the 2008 presidential election that may have gone uncounted, as revealed in recent Senate hearings



## 6 | Afghanistan

**POISON-GAS ATTACKS** At least 84 Afghan girls were admitted to a hospital in the small town of Mahmud Raqi for nausea and headaches after the third apparent poisoning at a school in less than three weeks. Officials suspect Islamic extremists, who have been known to burn down schoolhouses and spray acid in schoolgirls' faces. Women could not attend classes under the Taliban.

## 7 | Abu Dhabi

### A Royal Detained

A brother of Abu Dhabi's ruler is being held after footage purportedly showing him torturing an Afghan merchant was leaked to ABC News. Sheik Issa bin Zayed al-Nahyan, a real estate developer, is the first member of the emirate's ruling family to face a criminal investigation. The videotape prompted outrage among U.S. legislators and threatens to scuttle a civilian nuclear deal with the United Arab Emirates.

## 8 | London

### Taxpayers to Parliament: We Are Not Amused

Dozens of British lawmakers are facing scrutiny over leaked expense-report claims ranging from home mortgages to moat (yes, moat) maintenance. While most claims are within legal limits, their dizzying scale has sparked an outcry. Among the offenders:



**GORDON BROWN**

The Prime Minister was reimbursed after paying his brother about \$10,000 for arranging cleaning services for his flat but says he will pay it back.



**TONY BLAIR**

The former Prime Minister remortgaged his constituency home for more than \$450,000 and claimed almost a third of the interest as an expense at about the time he was buying another property in London.



**GERRY ADAMS**

He and four other Sinn Féin MPs claimed more than \$750,000 over five years, even though they refuse to attend Parliament.



**DOUGLAS HOGG**

As Agriculture Secretary, Hogg put in for \$3,000 for a moat at his estate and \$22,000 for home services. He says he didn't want taxpayers to foot the moat bill.



## 9 | Washington

### Entitlements Feel the Squeeze

The weak economy and surging health-care costs are taking a toll on Medicare and Social Security. A troubling government report projects that hospital funding for Medicare, which provides health care for 45 million Americans, will run dry by 2017—two years sooner than predicted just a year ago. Social Security's trust fund will go broke in 2037, four years ahead of schedule. Analysts warn that the picture may grow bleaker as mounting unemployment slashes tax revenues that fund the entitlements, which already eat up a third of federal spending.

## 10 | Baghdad

### Friendly Fire

An American soldier who had recently been referred for counseling allegedly gunned down five fellow service members



at a combat-stress clinic on a U.S. military base. A communications specialist from Texas on his third tour in Iraq, the suspect,

Sergeant John M. Russell, 44 (pictured), was charged with five counts of murder and one of aggravated assault in the U.S.'s deadliest soldier-on-soldier attack of the Iraq war.

(RECESSION



WATCH)

Even if you're homeless, New York City wants that rent money. Under a newly enforced policy, working families that live in public shelters will have to turn over a portion of their earnings, in some cases as much as 50%, to cover costs.

About 2,000 of the 9,000 families living in homeless shelters will be affected as the city grapples with a major budget crunch.

**\$2** TRILLION

Health-care cost savings over 10 years, in a plan by industry leaders and the Obama Administration to slow cost increases by 1.5% annually

**460,000**

Number of men in Botswana who will be circumcised over the next five years as part of a government HIV-prevention effort

# A Brief History Of:

## Celibacy



**T**HE REV. ALBERTO CUTIÉ MADE AN ATTRACTIVE POSTER boy for the Roman Catholic Church: he's young, telegenic and the host of a popular Miami radio show. But since photos surfaced on May 5 showing the priest dubbed Padre Oprah frolicking with an attractive young woman, he's become a reluctant part of the centuries-old debate over clerical celibacy.

It wasn't until the 12th century that formal rules were established forbidding clergymen to have sex. According to the Gospel of Matthew, Peter himself had a mother-in-law (which would usually imply a wife as well). The ban had theological roots—abstaining from pleasures of the flesh to demonstrate one's commitment to the church—but there was a practical reason too: celibacy meant no offspring vying to inherit church property. That's not to say the rules were always followed, however. Many priests' spirits proved weak and their flesh willing—notably the sybaritic Pope Alexander VI, who installed his teenage son as an Archbishop in 1493. Fernando Lugo, the current President of Paraguay and a former bishop, is accused of fathering three children as a man of the cloth. And while abstinence does not inevitably lead to child molestation, critics are quick to draw a link between priestly celibacy and recent pedophilia scandals.

At the Second Vatican Council in the early 1960s, hopes that the church would abandon celibacy were dashed by the election of the conservative Paul VI. A severe shortage of priests may prompt the church to reconsider. Since Vatican II, seminary enrollment has dropped 75%. Cutié, suspended from clerical duties, is grappling over whether to wed his girlfriend of two years. If he takes the secular path, he won't be alone: an estimated 25,000 former priests are married and living in the U.S. today. —BY M.J. STEPHY

### MARRIED TO THE FAITH

**306** The regional Council of Elvira in Spain decrees that all priests and bishops, married or not, should abstain from sex

**692** The Quinisext Council highlights the split between Eastern and Western churches: only bishops must be celibate

**1139** The Second Lateran Council abolishes clerical marriage, establishing the church's current official position

**1525** Reformation leader Martin Luther renounces his celibacy vow, marries an ex-nun

**1967** Pope Paul VI reaffirms clerical celibacy as a "brilliant jewel"

**1980** Pope John Paul II declares that ex-Episcopal priests can be ordained in the Catholic Church even if they are married

**2009** The Miami Archdiocese ousts the Rev. Alberto Cutié



### THE SKIMMER



#### Street Fighters: The Last 72 Hours of Bear Stearns, the Toughest Firm on Wall Street

By Kate Kelly  
Portfolio; 247 pages

BEAR STEARNS WAS OUR warning shot. Back in March 2008, when the 85-year-old investment bank collapsed, we didn't yet know how common it would be for a financial firm to be brought to its knees over a panicked long weekend. The *Wall Street Journal's* Kate Kelly takes us inside Bear's last, dizzying days: the lawyers swarming the sixth floor, the pleading phone calls to investors for emergency billions, the sickening realization that a lifesaving loan from the Federal Reserve would last two days—not 28. Kelly flicks at Bear Stearns' backstory—how its eat-what-you-kill culture and deep dive into mortgage securities sowed the seeds of its demise—but the real draw is the book's surgical detail. The day Bear sold itself to JPMorgan Chase for a paltry \$2 a share, its CEO, worn down by round-the-clock negotiations, stood in a Starbucks and softly cried as he waited for his coffee. *Street Fighters* won't hold up as the most comprehensive history of how high finance fell apart in 2008. But it may be remembered as the most human.

—BY BARBARA KIVIAT

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# Verbatim

'Man, these Islamic guys want to cut my hands off. Maybe it's time for a change.'

**ABSHIR BOYAH**, a Somali pirate boss, on mounting opposition to piracy among the country's religious leaders

'I'd have, like, seen this much ice and thought, Oh, my gosh, we were going to crash.'

**REBECCA SHAW**, co-pilot of a plane that crashed near Buffalo, N.Y., in February, remarking on the wintry conditions in a cockpit recording before the fatal plunge

'We just wanted to gather and remember our babies.'

**ZHOU LIANGPING**, of Juyuan, China, after local officials blocked memorials at the town's middle school marking the anniversary of the May 12, 2008, earthquake

'You give me a waterboard, Dick Cheney and one hour, and I'll have him confess to the Sharon Tate murders.'

**JESSE VENTURA**, former Minnesota governor, saying the former Vice President should be prosecuted for approving "torture"

'He is the big fish that national Republicans have been looking for.'

**STUART ROTHENBERG**, commentator, on Florida Governor Charlie Crist's U.S. Senate bid

'They smell blood.'

**BRUCE RIEDEL**, former CIA analyst, on al-Qaeda's exploiting the turmoil in Pakistan to bolster its strength

'Some were beautiful, some were risqué, but, again, we're in the 21st century.'

**DONALD TRUMP**, beauty-pageant co-owner, declaring that Miss California Carrie Prejean could keep her crown after topless photos of her surfaced online



## Back & Forth:

### Politics

'I think Rush Limbaugh was the 20th hijacker, but he was just so strung out on OxyContin, he missed his flight.'

Comedian **WANDA SYKES**, slamming the conservative radio host at the White House Correspondents' Association dinner. Limbaugh publicly admitted in 2003 that he had battled an addiction to prescription painkillers

'These were nasty, vicious, mean, ugly comments and had no place at the dinner.'

**KARL ROVE**, Fox News contributor and former senior adviser to President George W. Bush; Limbaugh did not respond to Sykes' remarks

### Military

'I think it's the result of a chemical used in a bomb.'

**DR. MOHAMMAD AREF JALALI** of Afghanistan's Herat Regional Hospital on burns suffered by villagers caught in a May 4 clash between U.S. and Taliban forces. Some human-rights groups say the burns were caused by U.S. troops using white phosphorus

'I can't say whether the insurgents used it, but we certainly didn't.'

U.S. military spokesman **COLONEL GREG JULIAN**, accusing Taliban fighters of using the chemical, which illuminates targets in warfare, to "create a civilian-casualty crisis"

### LEXICON

**Credit munch n.**—Recession-induced comfort eating

**USAGE:** "Stressed-out Britons have piled on 20 million stone in a year trying to 'comfort eat' their way through the recession, according to [a] report out today. The condition—dubbed the credit munch—has seen three in five Britons put on weight in the past 12 months."  
—the U.K.'s Daily Express, May 11, 2009



# Pop Chart



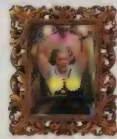
Indie-rock fan **BRIAN WILLIAMS** launches Web series: BriTunes



**JIMMY BUFFETT** in stadium deal with Miami Dolphins. Ricky Williams excited to make a new friend



Scientists unveil **CHOCOLATE-FUELED** race car



**DISNEY PARKS:** Topless souvenirs now welcome



NASA Astronaut sends first **SPACE TWEET**



**MISS CALIFORNIA** passionately defends her right to infringe on others' rights



**PEREZ HILTON** wins lawsuit against gossip site for stealing his idea of stealing ideas from others

## SHOCKING

Dad accused of using **DOG SHOCK COLLAR** on his kids



**WORLD'S OLDEST DOG** can legally drink



**CBS GOLF ANALYST** apologizes after writing that U.S. soldiers want to kill Pelosi and Reid. It's easy to see how that could be taken the wrong way



Congressman says no **VIAGRA ADS** before 10 p.m., well after bedtime for most users

## PREDICTABLE



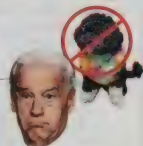
**MIA FARROW** ends her Master Cleanse for Darfur



**MAGGIE SIMPSON** speaks! Typical for a 19-year-old, it's about Ayn Rand



**LINDSAY LOHAN** still doesn't look like Marilyn Monroe



**JOE BIDEN** says his dog is smarter than Obama's. You can have this one, Joe

## SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

# Milestones



## Chuck Daly

HE WAS A CHAMPION IF EVER there was one. Chuck Daly, the Hall of Fame coach who died of pancreatic cancer on May 9 at age 78, was my mentor on and off the court. He was also one of the greatest coaches I've ever played for. He was a respected voice in our locker room and the

driving force behind our two NBA championships with the Detroit Pistons. And, let's not forget, the man was a great dresser—a fact that led directly to his nickname: Daddy Rich.

In 1996, Chuck was voted one of the 10 greatest coaches in NBA history. He won 638 regular-season games during 13 years in the league and another 75 in his 12 playoff appearances. When the time came to pick a coach for the greatest team ever assembled, our nation turned to Coach Daly. He didn't disappoint, leading the Dream Team to Olympic gold in 1992.

I was drafted by the Pistons in 1981, but we didn't

### Powwow

Thomas and Daly at a 1985 game



become the Bad Boys until Coach Daly came on board in 1983. He taught us how to win and gave us the courage to stand tall in the face of adversity. It was never enough to settle for being good; we aspired to be great.

Moving to Florida recently to take a new job gave me an opportunity to spend a lot of time with Chuck during his final days—and he was a remarkable man until the very end. You would never have known how sick he was by talking to him; he always had the demeanor of a warrior. That's what I loved about him.

Throughout his career, Chuck was gracious with his time and cared deeply for his players. He coached us in the game of life, not just the game of basketball. He made us believe we could do the impossible, and we did.

—BY ISIAH THOMAS



## Roxana Saberi

**RELEASED** THE RELEASE OF American journalist Roxana Saberi from Tehran's Evin prison ended her 100-day ordeal, but it opens a delicate new phase in U.S.-Iranian diplomacy. Saberi, 32, was arrested on Jan. 31 after purchasing a bottle of wine. Charged with spying for the U.S. government, she

was sentenced to eight years in prison following a closed-door trial, which her father said lasted less than an hour. "I'm of course very happy to be free and with my parents again," Saberi said after an appeals court ordered her release on May 11.

From the start, Saberi's detention had the hallmarks of a diplomatic cat-and-mouse

game. Iranian hard liners, opposed to the Obama Administration's diplomatic outreach to Tehran, stood to benefit from her arrest. Her release, therefore, was seen by Washington as a victory for Iranian leaders who want to engage the West. But it was also a triumph for friends, family and admirers of the embattled journalist, who was briefly hospitalized after embarking on a hunger strike during her imprisonment. Her plight prompted vigils across the U.S.

Commuting Saberi's sentence may pave the way for further warming, though Iran may first want a reciprocal gesture from the U.S.—like the release of three Iranian diplomats held by U.S. troops in Iraq. Iran may have budged, but the U.S. has shown no signs of following suit.

—BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

**DIED** Two days after losing a bid for re-election as mayor of Jackson, Miss.—and four days before the start of his

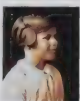


third trial for demolishing a suspected drug den without a warrant—**Frank Melton, 60**, succumbed to heart failure.

A polarizing figure, Melton was known for patrolling Jackson's streets with a police badge and guns even though he was not a licensed officer.

■ After childhood polio paralyzed her from the neck down, North Carolina native **Martha Mason, 71**, spent more than 60 years living in a 7-ft., 880-lb. iron lung that allowed her to breathe without tubes. Despite her condition, Mason graduated with honors from Wake Forest College (now a university) and published a book.

■ These days it's known as a dwarf planet, but until **Venetia Phair, 90**, was 11, Pluto was dubbed Planet X. When Phair suggested



naming the orb after the Roman god of the underworld, her well-connected grandfather helped make it a reality.

■ "I was always Joe's kid brother," **Dom DiMaggio, 92**, said of toiling in the shadow of his more famous sibling. But Dom was no slouch himself. A seven-time All-Star for the Boston Red Sox, the younger DiMaggio stands as one of the best center fielders of his era.

**DETAINED** Accused Nazi prison guard **John Demjanjuk, 89**, arrived in Germany after being expelled from the U.S. He is charged in the death of 29,000 Jews in 1943.

**DETAINED** After authorizing the Air Force to buzz lower Manhattan for a photo op, **Louis Caldera, 53**, director of the White House Military Office, resigned on May 8.





# The Sacrifice Gap

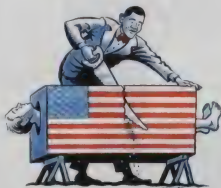
Instead of making tough policy decisions, Obama practices the politics he ran against

IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, BARACK Obama summoned Americans to a "new era of responsibility" and challenged us to end the politics of "standing pat... and putting off unpleasant decisions." It could have happened. If there was ever a President sitting on a high enough mountain of political capital to lead the country through a series of very painful but necessary political decisions, it is Obama. But sadly, that new era has so far been a promise unfulfilled. The Obama Administration's strategy has been no more than an effective execution of politics as usual, wrapped in more, not less, of the intellectually dishonest language that he so effectively campaigned against.

The sacred cows that voted Democratic last November are mooing more happily than ever. Big Labor is making no sacrifices. Nuclear power plants spew no CO<sub>2</sub> into the air and consume no foreign oil, yet a serious effort to build new ones is missing from the Obama energy plan because it offends the environmental left. Health care reform will be massively expensive, yet the trial lawyers' lobby is not being asked to endure the cost savings that tort reform would bring to health insurance. The teachers' unions are unscathed as billions in new spending is poured into public education. Costly—and popular—farm subsidies are untouched (except for those painfully targeted at "rich" farmers).

Obama's defenders will point to the concessions the Administration forced Detroit's autoworkers to make in the

arranged-bankruptcy negotiations with Chrysler. It is true that the United Auto Workers (UAW) got less than it asked for. But without Obama's billions in auto subsidies, it would have gotten far less from insolvency. The children of nonunionized American autoworkers in Kentucky and Alabama who build cars that succeed in the marketplace made the largest concessions. They will endure a larger national debt so that billions of federal dollars can be used



to prop up the UAW jobs of far less successful autoworkers in Michigan, Ohio and Ontario.

Instead of meddling in the management of domestic auto companies, Obama should use his immense political capital to make a policy decision that no recent President has shown the guts to make but that would be greatly in the national interest. A stiff new gas tax, phased in as the economy strengthens, would push new car demand toward more fuel-efficient vehicles just as the U.S. market for cars improves and auto production ramps back up. That would both stimulate the market for new cars and help curb our self-defeating addiction to buying oceans of oil from countries that wish us ill. It would be unpopular, of course, but many responsible things are. Revenues from such a gas tax might also help

Obama stop being so, well, irresponsible about how to pay for his "new era of responsibility."

As presented, the Obama budget formula is a work of art, if the goal is to slyly practice the very sort of dissembling politics that Obama ran against. The middle class is promised both a trillion-dollar avalanche of appealing new spending and, in the President's words, a "tax cut—for 95% of working families." Call it the audacity of sophistry. If, as the

President claims, his election was a mandate for a larger public sector, then would not the honest and responsible move be to ask everybody to pay at least a little bit more? Is a taxpayer making \$95,000 a year such a delicate Fabergé egg that he or she cannot chip in an extra \$750 a year to help pay for this huge new public sector and all the benefits it promises?

The real bankrollers of Obama's budget plans come directly from the old political playbook: First, future generations of Americans, who will face our tripled national debt. Second, those reliable villains favored by every Democratic speechwriter, "the top 2%," namely Americans with incomes of \$250,000 or more, who already pay nearly half of all federal income taxes. Not to mention our Chinese creditors, who hold huge piles of likely-to-be-inflated and therefore less valuable U.S. dollars.

As for practical politics, I must say Obama's approach is a bag of political tricks perfectly designed to capture Democratic success at the ballot box in 2012. But it has nothing to do with the best parts of his presidential campaign. It seems the first of those postponed "unpleasant decisions" Obama cited in his Inaugural speech is the one to make the political sacrifices his promises demand.

*Murphy is a GOP political consultant and writer*

**If the election was a mandate for a larger public sector, then would not the honest and responsible move be to ask everybody to pay at least a little bit more?**





Joe

# Klein

## AfPak's Odd Couple. Presidents Karzai and Zardari are working together. But let's not pretend they're perfect

THE BEST DIPLOMATS WALK A FINE LINE between flattery and the Stockholm syndrome. The more dire the situation, the easier it is to lose perspective, to mistake a shift in body language for a breakthrough, to mistake a breakthrough for a solution. And so it was slightly disconcerting to hear Richard Holbrooke, our very best diplomatic negotiator, deploying words like "extraordinary" and "unprecedented" to describe the recent round of talks with delegations from Afghanistan and Pakistan in Washington, during a White House briefing for columnists just after the talks ended. He was flanked by General David Petraeus, who reinforced Holbrooke's message. The talks "exceeded my expectations," the general said. A good deal of this is, obviously, puffery designed to keep the diplomatic balloon aloft. But there was also, I'd guess, some wishful thinking involved.

There really were breakthroughs in the talks. But these were bureaucratic advances, the sort that only occasionally lead to actual changes. Holbrooke was well aware of this, of course, and he was quick to say that "no one is promising that this will win the war." He then added, with a certain pride of authorship, "But success isn't possible if we didn't do it." And he's right: for the first time, Afghan and Pakistani Ministers of the Interior sat down and hammered out a rudimentary agreement on information-sharing. Agricultural and trade delegations also met, as did, most significant of all, military and intelligence representatives. (The idea that the Afghan intelligence service would break bread with the Pakistani Inter-Services

Intelligence directorate, which created the Taliban, is mind-boggling.) These advances were given greater heft by positive developments on the ground—especially Pakistan's apparent decision to stop the Taliban advance toward Islamabad, using six to eight brigades transferred from the Indian border.

And yet, the rude truth of the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan was revealed at a lunch the Presidents of both countries



attended with 27 U.S. Senators, an event that really did merit a few over-the-top encomiums like "unprecedented" and "brutal." The climax came when Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee asked President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan what the purpose of the U.S. mission was in his country. Karzai filibustered, and Corker told him, in no uncertain terms, that his answer was incomprehensible. At a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing a few days later, Corker confronted Holbrooke about the lack of credibility both Presidents shared. According to the Obama Administration, Corker said, the Karzai government "is taking more of the illegal [poppy crop] moneys than the Taliban." And in Pakistan, he said, "the leader was formerly called 'Mr. 10%,'" referring to Asif Ali Zardari's alleged practice of taking kickbacks on contracts when his wife Benazir Bhutto was in charge.

Indeed, neither President is exactly a

paragon of statesmanship. The reality in Afghanistan and Pakistan is that both governments have been unable to provide the most basic services—security, education, justice—for their citizens, which is why the Taliban, which has some fairly strong ideas about law and order, has been able to intimidate its way back into control of some areas. Karzai has an excuse: his country has suffered through 30 years of war, although the alleged participation of his brother in the Kandahar province opium trade and the utter corruption of the Afghan civil service don't help his reputation much. Zardari has no excuse at all: his country has a brilliant, educated intelligentsia and governing class, but it

has been entirely unable to provide the rudiments of civil society to the Pakistani masses, a remarkable indictment.

"You've got to go with the incompetents you've got," a Senator who supports the Obama Administration's policy told me. "We have no alternative." Holbrooke made a similar point during the hearing. Yes, he said, this situation resembled the war in Vietnam, harking back to his earliest service, as a U.S. diplomat in Saigon. "Structurally, there are many similarities—the enemy sanctuaries across

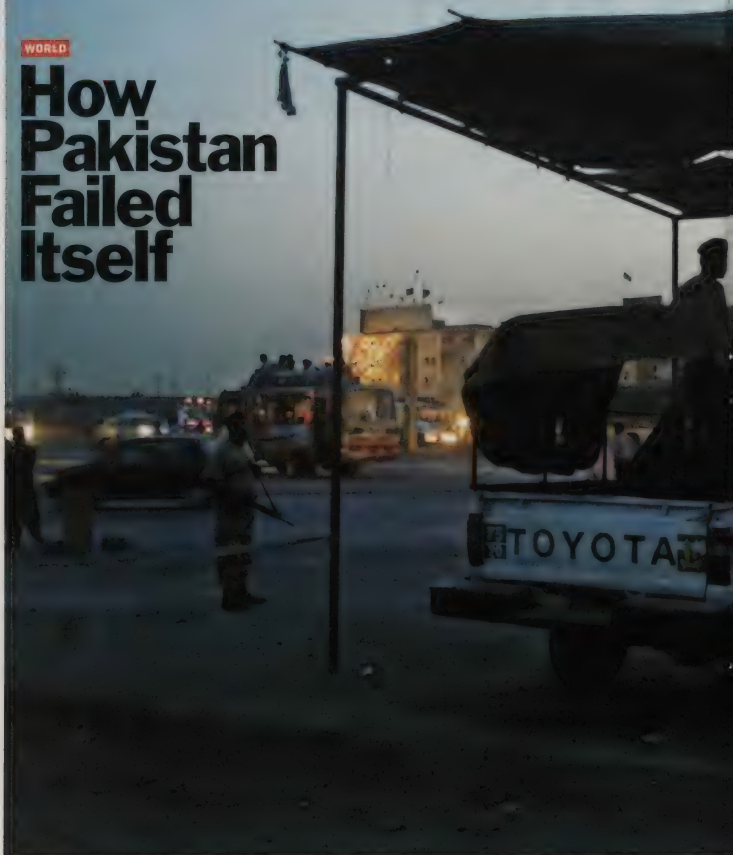
the border, the [failure of] governance, corruption... but there is one core difference: 9/11," he said. "There was no threat from Vietnam to the U.S. homeland."

That is why both Holbrooke and Petraeus will do everything they can to nudge and puff Zardari and Karzai into being statesmen who occasionally act in their own national interest, as Zardari seems to have done by deciding to fight the Taliban. That is why Secretary of Defense Robert Gates acted with such alacrity to replace a good general, David McKiernan, with another, Stanley McChrystal, better versed in the tactics used to fight terrorist insurgencies. That is why we are in Afghanistan and Pakistan: because our enemies—the people who killed 3,000 Americans on Sept. 11, 2001—are festering there. It would be nice if, unlike Vietnam, our "friends" proved as competent as our enemies, but that is where the wishful thinking inevitably begins.

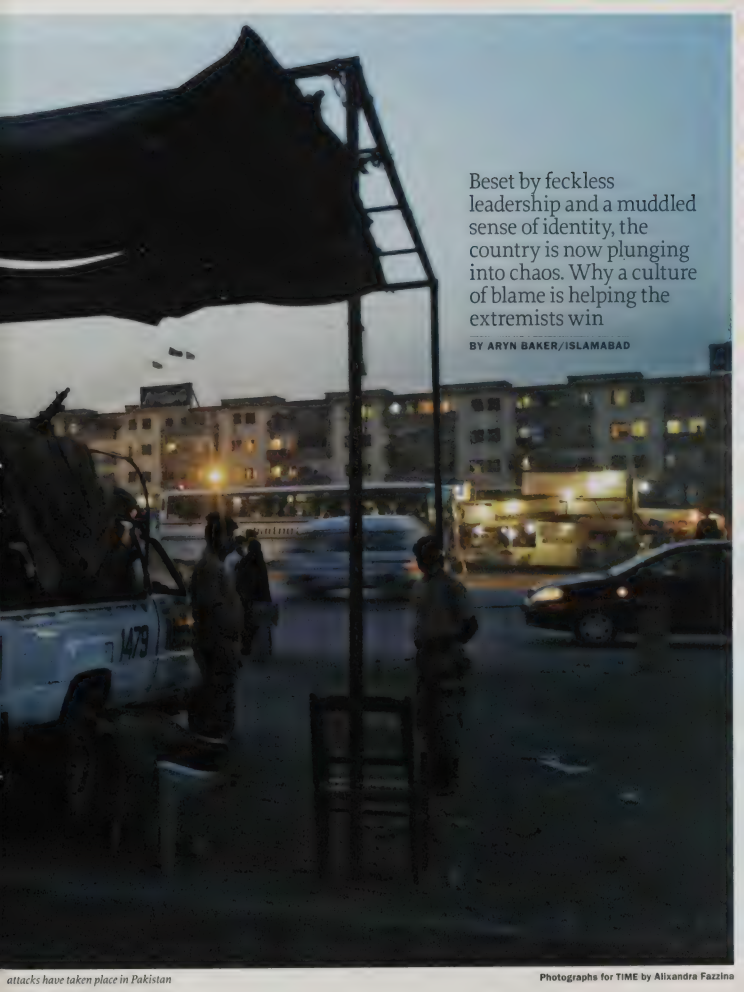
**Both Afghanistan and Pakistan have been unable to provide the most basic services for their citizens**

WORLD

# How Pakistan Failed Itself



**Close lookout** Paramilitary rangers keep watch on apartments in Karachi suspected of harboring Taliban militants. In the past 18 months, hundreds of terrorist



Beset by feckless leadership and a muddled sense of identity, the country is now plunging into chaos. Why a culture of blame is helping the extremists win

BY ARYN BAKER/ISLAMABAD

IN THE HIMALAYAN RESORT TOWN OF Nathiagali, a party is under way. Ice clinks in tumblers and corks pop while the conversation—an amalgam of English and Urdu that is the mark of Pakistan's elite—flows from meditation techniques to a heated debate over a U.S. politician's warning that Pakistan is on the brink of collapse. The hostess, Rifat Haye, 54, is one of two female pilots with the national airline and is celebrating her promotion to captain. She wears jeans. Her hair is streaked with blond, and a diamond nose stud glints in the sun, as does the jeweled Allah pendant around her neck. She is frustrated with the image the world has of Pakistan, that of a failing state overrun by Muslim fanatics. Pointing first to herself, then at her guests, she says, "This is Pakistan." Then she waves her hand over the valley beyond the deck of her summer cabin. "But that is also Pakistan."

By that she means all those Pakistanis who do not belong to her class and who have as much to do with the Taliban as she does, which is to say nothing at all. But her sweeping wave inadvertently encompasses a part of Pakistan she has failed to address—the Swat valley, where the army has embarked on a campaign to rout out Islamic insurgents who threaten to destroy the Pakistan Haye knows and cherishes.

Pakistan is a complicated country, one of religious and political diversity, fractured by class and ethnicity. Pakistanis like to quip that they have a population of 170 million—and as many different opinions. Which is why defensiveness sets in when outsiders attempt to reduce the country to a terrorist statistic. The problems in Swat don't define Pakistan, says Haye. It's not that she doesn't care—she does—but that Pakistan has very little to do with her Pakistan. "What is all this talk of Talibanization? Not once have these *maulvis* [religious leaders] complained that a woman is flying their plane," she says. Guests nod in agreement. "There is no way the Taliban can take over Pakistan," says one. "We are too many, and they are too few."

It is indeed unlikely that Pakistan's Islamic militants can seize power. But to

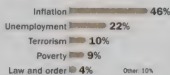
spread fear and insecurity and slow down economic development, they don't need to. Hundreds of terrorist attacks have taken more than 2,500 lives in the past 18 months. Talibanization may not have reached Pakistan's elite, but it is already threatening others. Women in the city of Rawalpindi complain that they are harassed if they don't wear headscarves. In Lahore, a prep school for girls has banned the wearing of blue jeans, for fear of a Taliban attack. In the capital, Islamabad, the Red Mosque's prayer leader, Abdul Aziz, sanctioned vigilante squads of baton-wielding women to

go out and threaten video stores, barbershops and massage parlors for being un-Islamic. Two years ago, his followers kidnapped six Chinese masseuses, calling them prostitutes, and held them hostage. The army eventually cracked down, launching a siege and battle that saw the death of nearly 100 militants. Last month, Aziz was released from prison on the condition that he would not preach against the state. But residents in the neighborhood fear that the vigilante squads will soon be back. Talibanization doesn't start with a military takeover. It happens when there is a Red Mosque in every city and citizens are afraid to stand up to its edicts.

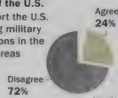
The government, at last, seems to be fighting back. On May 7, Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani announced a military operation in Swat. "The armed forces have been called in," he said, "to eliminate the militants and terrorists. We will not bow before extremists." Only weeks before, the government had finalized a peace deal with the militants in which their principal demand—the establishment of Islamic law in the area—was granted in exchange for giving up arms. At first officials defended the deal, even as the militants moved on a neighboring district and their leader announced that democracy was contrary to Islam. But in a move that coincided with Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari's visit to Washington, the government declared the deal over. "The militants have waged war against all segments of society," Gilani said. "I regret to say that our bona fide intention to prefer reconciliation with them

### What Pakistanis Think

What is the most important issue facing Pakistan?



Role of the U.S.  
I support the U.S. making military incursions in the tribal areas



Source: The International Republican Institute, from a survey of 3,500 adult Pakistanis conducted March 7-30



was perceived as a weakness on our part."

The fighting in Swat masks far more serious problems. In Waziristan, a region on the Afghan border, security forces have ceded control to the militants. Outlawed sectarian groups are gaining a foothold in Punjab province. And in the financial capital of Karachi, where Pakistani Taliban insurgents raise funds, ethnic clashes claimed more than 30 lives last month. When U.S. President Barack Obama commented during an April news conference that the Pakistani government did not "seem to have the capacity to deliver basic services—schools, health care, rule of law, a judicial system that works for the majority of the people," the nation erupted in





#### **A divided land**

*Pakistan is not all turmoil and tribal lands; for many, above, it is a source of a good life, modernity and a moderate form of Islam*

#### **Seeking shelter**

*Thousands of refugees, left, are fleeing Taliban control for the cities*

fury, and effigies of Obama were burned. But privately many Pakistanis agreed with the U.S. President; their nation, for all its people's many talents, has failed to develop the education, economic development and justice systems that are the bedrock of modernity and stability. "These guys have been in power for more than a year," says lawyer Anees Jilani, speaking of Zardari's government. "What have they done? We still have acute poverty, joblessness and injustice."

#### **A Crisis of Identity**

TO CRITICIZE PAKISTAN'S LEADERS, however—much though they may deserve it—is to miss the point. It is ordinary

people, locked in a series of personal Pakistani, who seem unable or unwilling to unite over the threat to their nation. Pakistanis will point to the oppressive hand of history or the machinations of foreign nations to explain their descent into chaos, and to a certain extent both have played a role. But no one bears more responsibility for a slow collective suicide than Pakistanis themselves. A set of failures has contributed to Pakistan's fall.

Founded as a Muslim nation carved from British ruled India in 1947, Pakistan has long struggled to unite a population divided by language, culture and ethnicity. It is quite true that Pakistan may never have resolved what Sabahat Ashraf, a Pakistani blogger now living in California, calls its "existential dilemma: Are we an Islamic state, or are we a state of Muslims?" but Islam has always been a common denominator. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the nation rallied under the banner of jihad. Today any attack on Islam, even the perception of one, is akin to an assault on Pakistan's very identity. When the militants say they too are fighting for Islam, just as the *mujahedin* fought the Soviets, it creates a sense of paralysis.

Pervez Hoodbhoy, a professor at Islamabad's Quaid-i-Azam University, pulls up on his laptop the pages of a first-grade primer distributed in private religious schools. "A is for Allah," he reads. "B is for *bandook*, or gun." T, for *thakrau*, collision, is illustrated with a drawing of the World Trade Center in flames, while Z, for *zenoub*, the plural of sin, is depicted with alcohol bottles, kites, guitars, drums, a television and a chess set. Any attempt to change the religious curriculum is met with fierce resistance. "Many fear that to be seen protesting against the extremists who are pushing Shari'a [Islamic law] would be seen as protesting against Islam itself," says Hoodbhoy.

The paradox here is that historically, Pakistanis have practiced a syncretic version of Islam that venerates saints and emphasizes a personal relationship with God. But the influx of Arab preachers during the war against the Soviets brought a more austere form of the religion. Shayam Afzal Khan, an Islamic scholar who writes about women and Islam, thinks Pakistanis lack the confidence to defend their moderate beliefs. "People are afraid to take on the mullahs because we can't quote the Koran the way they do," Khan says. "We have to

take our religion back," but fear gets in the way. She has decided not to publish her most recent book, about early Muslim women, in Pakistan "because the situation these days is too unstable."

### Blaming India

IF PAKISTANIS HAVE DEFINED THEMSELVES by their religion, they have also defined themselves by what they are not—Indian. The bloody cleavage that marked the birth of two independent nations began a long enmity cemented by three wars and the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation. The contested territory of Muslim-majority Kashmir is the flame that keeps the pot boiling. In Pakistan every prayer ends

surgency was squandered on fighter jets better suited to attacking India. But the message failed to sink in.

After his speech, Rashid was peppered with questions about India's designs to destabilize the country, until he exploded with frustration: "We are still getting told every night on our TVs that these Pakistani Taliban are all getting their money from India, that they are armed by India. Until we recognize the fact that this is a homegrown phenomenon and that the people throwing acid into girls' faces are Pakistani, the problem will continue."

Yet continue it does. Every day, it seems, another police official or politician proclaims that he has definitive proof that a "foreign hand" (read: India) is behind the latest bombing. The proof is never produced. It is enough that it bolsters the delusion that Pakistanis are not responsible for the crisis in their own country and thus are exempted from dealing with it.

### Resenting the U.S.

OF LATE, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION has sought to convince Pakistani leadership that the Indian threat on the eastern border has passed and that troops should be moved to the west, where both Pakistani and Afghan Taliban have set up training camps. To many Pakistanis, that message is suspect. The Americans have too long a history of pursuing their own interests in the region, they say. The rapid U.S. withdrawal at the end of the Soviet war in Afghanistan left Pakistan in

chaos. America's long support for former President Pervez Musharraf's military rule alienated Pakistanis even further. Now it is commonly accepted that every political move in the country conceals an American motive, a belief shared by many Pakistanis living abroad. "It's well known that the present civilian government headed by a corrupt psychopath was conjured up by the U.S. and U.K. to push their agenda," says Dr. Riaz Ahmed, a pediatrician practicing in the U.K. "Pakistan has been helping the Americans with their war, and what do they get in return? Violence, drugs, instability. We Pakistanis think we are being bullied into somebody else's war."

That resentment is fueled by a belief that Pakistan is suffering for Washington's failures. Zardari may say that the war on terrorism is as much Pakistan's as it is the U.S.'s, but that message has yet to take root. The growing militancy in Pakistan's



with a thought for Kashmir. Pakistanis find it impossible to believe that India, with its booming economy and flourishing democracy, has moved on from the rivalry; India, many believe, still seeks the destruction of its neighbor.

One afternoon in early May, an upscale audience gathered in Karachi to hear veteran journalist Ahmed Rashid speak on the Taliban threat. For years, Rashid has been Pakistan's Cassandra, prophesying an extremist-led doom to deaf ears. Now that the threat has become reality, he is a sought-after speaker. "I no longer say that there's a creeping Talibanization in Pakistan," he warned. "It's a galloping Talibanization." For 45 minutes, he expanded on his theme, explaining how the Pakistan Army's narrow focus on India has allowed the militant threat within the country to fester, how money that should have been spent on helicopters to combat the in-



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**Daily bread** Hot-food stalls and grocery vendors vie for space in a market in Kharadar, a Pashtun-dominated neighborhood of Karachi

tribal areas "is the price we are paying now for supporting the American war on terror," says Ahsan Iqbal, information secretary for the opposition party Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). "If we stopped supporting the American war [in Afghanistan], we would have peace tomorrow." Iqbal dismisses recent accounts in the Western press of growing Talibanization in the country as "propaganda." Shireen Mazari, a right-wing columnist, sees even more sinister plots afoot. "Is it really in the American interest to have a stable Pakistan right now?" she asks. "Or is it actually pushing us towards instability in order to achieve its agenda of obtaining access and control over our nuclear assets?" Says Rashid: "All of us go by conspiracy theories. We are all blaming somebody else for our mistakes. Why don't we wake up and start blaming ourselves?"

### Missed Opportunities

ONE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS, BECAUSE Pakistan's leaders have been so feckless. When Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in December 2007, her husband Zardari assumed leadership of her political party and then the presidency. Zardari swore to bring his wife's killers to justice.



### Land of Contrasts

Affluence and poverty in Pakistan, through the lens of photographer Alixandra Fazzina. See photos at [time.com/pakistan\\_photos](http://time.com/pakistan_photos)

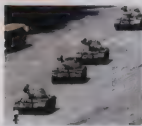
He has not done so, instead wasting an opportunity to rally the nation against terrorism. There is no national media campaign to combat Taliban propaganda and no clerics on TV or radio denouncing suicide bombers.

"What we need is a national change in consciousness," says Supreme Court advocate Aitzaz Ahsan, who led a lawyers' movement that brought about the downfall of Musharraf. "People need to be bombarded with the reality of what the Taliban represent." Ahsan wants to see videos of Taliban atrocities broadcast every night. Only then, he says, will people understand and act against extremism. "The whole nation needs to see what is happening. Not just the floggings by the Taliban but the beheadings, the digging up of the graves of our saints, the burning of our girls' schools."

Instead, says Samina Ahmed of the International Crisis Group, Zardari's government has muddled the message: rath-

er than punish those who used terrorist tactics, he originally met their demands in Swat. Wajiha Ahmed, a Pakistani-American graduate student at the Fletcher School of Tufts University, hopes that the current chaos holds a "silver lining ... It might put pressure on the military elite and the political oligarchy to finally change the country's outlook so that it focuses on bettering the condition of its people." But for decades, talented exiles—writers, bankers, software engineers and international civil servants—have been devoutly wishing for such a consummation. It hasn't happened yet.

That sad reality is sinking in back home. In a phone call a few days after her party, Haye, the airline pilot, worried that she might have been too dismissive of the threat. "If the Taliban infiltrates Pakistan, of course that affects us. But what can we do?" One part of the answer, for 170 million Pakistanis, is to recognize their shared destiny. Only when the entire nation understands the threat to its existence—and acts accordingly—will its people be able to confront it. —WITH REPORTING BY WILLIAM LEE ADAMS/LONDON, ERSHAD MAHMUD/ISLAMABAD AND FRANCES ROMERO/NEW YORK ■



# Tiananmen Ghosts. Twenty years after China's tragedy, a secret journal reveals new details of the power struggle that led to the massacre

BY ADI IGNATIUS



WHEN THE TANKS AND troops blasted their way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square 20 years ago, crushing the student-led protest movement that had captivated the world, the biggest political casualty

was Chinese Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang, the man who had tried hardest to avoid the bloodshed.

Outmaneuvered by his hard-line rivals, Zhao was stripped of power and placed under house arrest. The daring innovator who had introduced capitalist policies to post-Mao Zedong China spent his last 16 years virtually imprisoned, rarely allowed to venture away from his home on a quiet alley in Beijing. As his hair turned white, Zhao passed many lonely hours driving golf balls into a net in his courtyard.

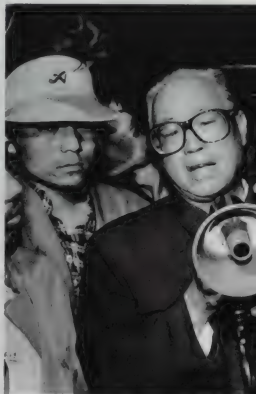
Yet as it turns out, Zhao never stopped thinking about Tiananmen. Through courage and subterfuge, he found a way, in the isolation of his heavily monitored home, to secretly record his account of what it was like to serve at China's highest levels of power—and more amazingly, he sneaked his memoir out of the country. Published this month, *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang* provides an intimate look at one of the world's most opaque regimes during some of modern China's most critical moments. It marks the first time a Chinese leader of such stature—as head of the party, Zhao was nominally China's highest-ranking official—has spoken frankly about life at the top. Most significantly, Zhao's account could encourage future Chinese leaders to revisit the events of Tiananmen and acknowledge the government's tragic mistakes there. Hundreds of people were killed or imprisoned by government

forces, though few Chinese today know the full story.

In the book, Zhao, who died in 2005, details the drama and conflict behind the scenes during the Tiananmen protests. The priority of the party's leaders ultimately wasn't to suppress a rebellion but to settle a power struggle between conservative and liberal factions. China's hard-liners had tried for years to derail the economic and political innovations that Zhao had introduced; Tiananmen, Zhao demonstrates in his journal, gave the conservatives a pretext to set the clock back. The key moment in Zhao's narrative is a meeting held at Deng Xiaoping's home on May 17, 1989, less than three weeks before the Tiananmen massacre. Zhao argued that the government should back off from its harsh threats against the protesters and look for ways to ease tensions. Two conservative officials immediately stood up to criticize Zhao, effectively blaming the escalating protests on him. Deng had the last word with his fateful decision to impose martial law and move troops into the capital. In a rare historical instance of a split at the party's highest levels, Zhao wouldn't sign on: "I refused to become the General Secretary who mobilized the military to crack down on students."

With his political career more or less finished, Zhao went to Tiananmen Square to talk to some of the tens of thousands of protesters massed there. Premier Li Peng, Zhao's primary rival, tagged along—though Zhao says Li was "terrified" and quickly left the scene. A teary Zhao spoke to student leaders through a bullhorn. "We have come too late," he said, urging students to leave the square to help calm things down. Few heeded his words. About two weeks later, the tanks and troops were sent in.

When the assault on Tiananmen began, he could only wince as he heard the pop-pop-pop of automatic rifles near his home. "While sitting in the courtyard with my family, I heard intense gunfire," he wrote. "A tragedy to shock



the world had not been averted, and was happening after all."

Zhao's effort to record and preserve his memoir required both secrecy and conspiracy. Under the noses of his captors, he recorded his material on about 30 tapes, each roughly an hour long. Judging from the content, most of the recording took place in or around 2000. Members of his family say even they were unaware that this was taking place. The recordings were on cassettes—mostly Peking opera and kids' music—that had been lying around the house. Zhao methodically noted their order by numbering them with faint pencil marks. There were no titles or other notes. The first few recordings were of discussions with friends. But most were taped alone, and Zhao apparently read from a text he had prepared.

When Zhao had finished the taping



#### Profile in courage

A Beijing citizen, above far left, stands in defiance of oncoming tanks along the Avenue of Eternal Peace

#### Final gesture

Knowing efforts will probably prove futile, Zhao, left, pleads with students to "treasure their lives" and end their hunger strike

#### Aspiring toward freedom

The Chinese army, above, overwhelmed the protesting students. Blood was shed on Tiananmen Square, marking the day, June 4, 1989, as one of the darkest in modern China's history

after a couple of years, he found a way to pass the material to a few trusted friends who had also been high-level party officials. Each was given only some of the recordings, evidently to hedge against their being lost or confiscated. After Zhao died four years ago, some of the people who knew about the recordings—they can't be named here because of fears of retaliation from Chinese authorities—launched a complex, clandestine effort to gather the material in one place and transcribe it for publication. Later, another set of tapes, perhaps the originals, was found hidden among his grandchildren's toys in his study.

The power structure described in the book is chaotic and often bumbling. In Zhao's narrative, Deng is a conflicted figure who urges Zhao to push hard for economic change but demands a crack-

down on anything that seems to challenge the party's authority. Deng is at times portrayed not as an emperor but as a puppet subject to manipulation by Zhao or his rivals, depending on who presents his case to the old man first.

Once placed under house arrest, Zhao could do little but obsess over past events, rewinding the clock to pore over the technicalities of the state's case against him. His few attempts to venture out met with almost comically Kafkaesque resistance. For example, when authorities finally permitted him to play pool at a club for party officials, they first swept the place of other people, ensuring that Zhao played alone. His captors ultimately succeeded in keeping him out of view and silencing his voice, and they put up enough obstacles to deter all but the most determined visitors. As he said

in his recordings, "The entrance to my home is a cold, desolate place."

Yet inside the gate, Zhao was busy at work, taping the journal that now gives him a final say about what really happened and what might have been. It's a fitting final act for a man who made enormous contributions to today's China. Although Deng generally gets credit for modernizing China's economy, it was Zhao who brought about the innovations—from breaking up Mao's collective farms to creating freewheeling special economic zones along the coast—that jolted China's economy from its slumber. And it was Zhao who had to continually outflank powerful rivals who didn't want to see the system change.

The China that Zhao describes is very much alive now. The country's team of leaders continues to promote economic freedom yet intimidates or arrests anyone who dares to call for political change. At the end of last year, more than 300 Chinese activists, marking the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, jointly signed Charter 08, a document that calls on the party to reform its political system and allow freedom of expression. Beijing responded as it often does: it interrogated many of the signatories and arrested some, including prominent dissident Liu Xiaobo, who was active during the Tiananmen protests.

At the end of his journal, Zhao concludes that China must become a parliamentary democracy to meet the challenges of the modern world—a remarkable observation from someone who spent his entire career in service to the Communist Party, and one that might well provoke a debate on China's Internet discussion boards and in its chat rooms. Zhao's ultimate aim was a strong economy, but he had become convinced that this goal was inextricably linked to the development of democracy. China's ability to avoid another tragedy like Tiananmen might depend on how quickly that comes about. ■

# What Is Obama's Biggest Problem?



(These Guys)

Democrats in Congress say they want to pass the President's agenda—except when they don't. Can the White House keep them in line?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

**B**ARACK OBAMA HAS FILLED HIS White House with all sorts of academic prodigies and propeller heads, a crew more comfortable with the mortarboard than the flag pin. They are, as a group, masters of the art of the optimal, of creating great solutions on paper if not always in reality. And so every now and then, sobering discussions occur behind closed doors, like the one in mid-April when a collection of Cabinet secretaries, former academics and political advisers

gathered to discuss the Administration's blueprint for a global-warming bill. The experts called for a significant increase in the cost of carbon as a way to reduce Americans' energy consumption—just as Obama had promised in the campaign.

Then the White House political minds at the table jumped in: Democrats in Congress were not going to just go along without some concessions. "If you figure you need the Democratic votes to pass, you have to give the coal-state people some-

thing they can take home," said a participant at the meeting, recounting the course of the conversation. Buying votes with concessions "would not be something that you would draw up in a case study at the Kennedy School of Harvard."

So it has gone in the first four months of the new Administration. Despite Obama's early legislative victories—including passage of the largest stimulus bill in history—the new President has learned how limited his power can be, even when the Democrats control Congress. While much of the political chatter continues to focus on the waning Republican opposition, Obama's real challenge comes from within his own party. With increasing frequency, Democrats have been scratching away at the promises Obama made during his campaign, watering down reforms, removing possible revenue sources and protecting



key constituencies. "I am under no illusions that suddenly I'm going to have a rubber-stamp Senate," Obama said during his most recent prime-time press conference. "I've got Democrats who don't agree with me on everything, and that's how it should be." What he did not say aloud, but many whisper in Congress, is that those Democrats could determine—or undermine—his legislative legacy.

## The Case for Arm-Twisting

IN THE MEANTIME, SMALL DEFECTIONS have become routine. Farm-state Democrats have blocked Obama's plans to cut agricultural subsidies, while others have scoffed at his proposed \$17 billion in spending cuts, which target pet projects. Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee have shot down Obama's plans to increase taxes on some charitable donations to fund health-care expansion. Though under scrutiny for his close ties to lobbyists at the center of a corruption investigation, Pennsylvania Representative John Murtha, a Defense appropriator, pushed to add \$9.3 billion to a war-funding supplemental bill, with line items like nearly \$2.3 billion for C-17 cargo planes that the Pentagon calls unnecessary.

At the end of April, a dozen Senate Democrats helped hand Obama his first major legislative defeat by voting down one of the President's big campaign pledges, a plan to allow bankruptcy courts to restructure the mortgages of strapped homeowners. So infuriated was Illinois Senator Dick Durbin, one of Obama's close allies, that he accused his colleagues of bending to the will of bank lobbyists. "They frankly own the place," he told a Chicago radio station. The White House, by contrast, made no public comment on the defeat.

This silence speaks to the heart of the President's legislative strategy. For every former professor working somewhere in the White House, Obama has at least as many former congressional hands who understand the egos, dead ends and short-cuts on Capitol Hill. Whatever the egg-heads may theorize, the Hill veterans have crafted an approach that neatly parallels his background as a community organizer and rarely seeks to dictate the legislative details, even if it means he does not always control the outcome. "Every presidency learns from preceding presidencies. There are things you want to do different," explains Obama's chief of staff, Rahm Emanuel, who left a post in the House leadership to go to the White House. Emanuel had worked for President Bill Clinton, who bungled his early legislative agenda by trying to force-feed legislation to Congress—and then being slow to compromise.

Obama is emerging, on the other hand, as a President who convenes the players, points them down the road and then lets the chips fall where they may. Obama regularly gathers members of Congress at the White House to give them broad encouragement, not marching orders. On May 5, he invited Democrats from the House Energy and Commerce Committee to a meeting at the White House, but he had no specific list of demands. He asked only for a bill that could get industry support, deal with regional concerns and provide market certainty for future investment. Behind the scenes, his aides all but backed off from any arm-twisting. "They are not at the negotiating table," said Representative Rick Boucher, a Democrat from Virginia's coal country and a lead drafter of the bill.

The hands-off approach has costs. What has begun to emerge from the House committee is a set of carbon-reduction goals and funding mechanisms that falls short of the President's plans—and still might not pass muster with moderate Democrats in the Senate. Members such as Indiana's Evan Bayh, North Dakota's Byron Dorgan and Nebraska's Ben Nelson have already expressed skepticism about the proposal to cap carbon emissions and create a market for pollution permits. Nelson also op-

poses Democratic proposals for a public health plan and the elimination of subsidies to private-sector student loan firms, one of which is based in his state.

To deal with expected Democratic defections and ongoing GOP opposition, Obama has sought the ability to pass major parts of his health and education plan with a bare majority of Senate support. But his main weapon is an avowed willingness to compromise on the details in order to garner enough votes, a strategy that has won him some applause. "He is not a my-way-or-the-highway type of leader," says Nelson.

At some point, though, Obama may be forced to draw some lines in the sand with his party, especially as small defections turn into big price tags. President George W. Bush's legacy was tarred by his unwillingness to challenge the GOP leadership on its flagrant spending sprees. Similarly, Obama's more passive approach with Congress runs the risk of achieving broad victories that lack the policy punch he has promised—a health-care system, for instance, that covers just a fraction of the uninsured while making only a marginal dent in costs as the deficit threatens to explode. "The principle we have is success," Emanuel likes to say. The question, of course, is just what exactly success will mean. ■

## THE DEMOCRATS

### Loyal Opposition. Members of Obama's own party are taking a scalpel to some of his campaign promises



#### The Program

**HEALTH CARE**  
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#### The Holdout



Max Baucus

#### The Problem

No consensus on who should pay for Obama's reforms or if a Medicare-like health plan for the uninsured is a good idea

#### The Compromise

Senators now have wide latitude to work out the details, which are unlikely to go as far as Obama promised in 2008

#### EDUCATION

End costly federal subsidies to private firms that make student loans



Ben Nelson

Senators with home-state student-loan businesses, like Nebraska's Nelson, fear loss of jobs and income

Private firms may still administer the new public loans, or Obama's allies may push reforms through the Senate with just 51 votes

**CAP AND TRADE**  
Regulate emissions by setting new standards to reduce the creation of global-warming gases



Evan Bayh

Industrial- and coal-state Democrats, such as Indiana's Bayh and Ohio's Sherrod Brown, fear lost jobs and bigger utility bills

Energy industries and affected communities could get subsidies, and pollution-reduction goals may be shrunk

# How Autism Ages

It is estimated that 1 out of every 150 American children is living with autism. And yet little attention is paid to what happens when they grow up. A personal account of the silent struggle of adult autistics

BY KARL TARO GREENFELD

**N**OAH, MY YOUNGER BROTHER, does not talk. Nor can he dress himself, prepare a meal for himself or wipe himself. He is a 42-year-old man, balding, gaunt, angry and, literally, crazy. And having spent 15 years at the Fairview Developmental Center in Costa Mesa, Calif., a state facility, Noah has picked up the con's trick of lashing out before anyone could take a shot at him.

Noah's autism has been marked by "three identified high priority maladaptive behaviors that interfere with his adaptive programming. These include banging his head against solid surfaces, pinching himself and grabbing others," according to his 2004 California Department of Developmental Services individual program plan (IPP). Remarkably, that clinical language actually portrays Noah more favorably than the impression one would get from a face-to-face meeting.

Despite the successful marketing of the affliction by activists and interest groups, autism is not a childhood condition. It is nondegenerative and nonterminal: the boys and girls grow up. For all the interventions and therapies and the restrictive diets and innovative treatments, the majority of very low functioning autistics like Noah will require intensive support throughout their lives. If recent estimates of prevalence by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention are accurate, then 1 in 150 of today's children is autistic.

That means we are in for a vast number of adult autistics—most better adjusted than Noah, some as bad off—who will be a burden to parents, siblings and, eventually, society.

We are largely unprepared to deal with this crisis. Autism funding and research, so far, have predominantly focused on children. When I have visited autism conferences, there have been exceedingly few research projects devoted to low-functioning adult autistics. It remains difficult for families of adult autistics to find the programs they need, to access those services that are available and even to locate medical professionals and dentists who can handle adult autistics. Too much of the burden rests on the families themselves, who remain in the picture as caregivers, advocates and, too often, the only party with the autistic adult's best interests in mind.

Parents, of course, love their children.

**Despite its image, autism is not a childhood condition. It is nondegenerative and nonterminal: the boys and girls grow up**

**A world apart** Noah, 42, who spent 15 years in a state mental facility, is now in an assisted-living home near his parents in Los Angeles

When I used to accompany my parents to visit Noah at Fairview, we would sometimes see other parents visiting their middle-aged "boys"—some of them strapped into helmets because of their self-injurious behavior—who walked with the same stiff-legged gait, bobbed their heads from side to side, twiddled rubber bands or twigs in their hands and sometimes smacked their foreheads with their fists. They were unlovely men, I thought, lost, impossible to like. But once the parents were gone, who was supposed to keep making these visits and these phone calls checking up on their sons and attending these meetings with the administrators and bureaucrats and caregivers to advocate on behalf of the lost men? That will end up being me, or people like me, the siblings. We will be the ones left caring.

MY FAMILY SERVED FOR THE FIRST 14 YEARS of Noah's life as a sort of monument to my parents' love for their autistic son. We functioned as a Noah-support group. Almost as soon as I was aware of myself, there was Noah, a perpetual source of worry and concern because of his delayed development. He wasn't turning over, crawling, walking, doing anything on schedule except talking—and he soon regressed out of speech. My parents began then the





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lacerating pilgrimage from specialist to specialist, seeking, first, an explanation for this delayed development and then, finally, desperately, a cure, a therapy, hope.

In the late 1960s and early '70s, autism was considered a rarity in the U.S., so uncommon that many pediatricians believed they had never seen a case. Treatment was laughable: the dangerous Freudian inanities of Bruno Bettelheim and his now widely discredited methods, the talk therapy of the psychoanalytic community, whose members wanted to treat the parents rather than the child (the blame-the-parents approach). We moved from New York to Los Angeles in search of a cure for Noah. There, at UCLA, new behavioral programs, the operant conditioning and discrete-trial therapies that now dominate autism treatment, were being pioneered by psychologists like O. Ivar Lovaas.

Noah was an early patient of Lovaas', yet the success that Lovaas would have with some of the autistic children he worked with eluded Noah, who remained among the lowest-functioning cohort—nonverbal, unable to dress himself, not toilet-trained until he was 5. Lovaas soon told my parents that he had gone as far as he could with Noah, that he was now focusing on younger children. (I have since heard of numerous children who also, as one parent I know put it, "flunked" Lovaas.) It was an early disappointment but only a precursor of so many to follow.

In the late '70s, my mother, frustrated at the lack of care and attention given to special education children, who actually had fewer school hours and more days off than "normal" children did, opened her own day-care center for the developmentally disabled. By this time, Noah was 14 and as tall as my mother. My father, already in his 50s, was soon diagnosed with a heart problem; he has since had open-heart surgery. My mother, who had been Noah's most assiduous and faithful teacher, spending hours a day at a table in his room, constantly trying to get him to repeat sounds or tie a string, was exhausted. Both of them felt they couldn't take care of him at home anymore, that it had become a matter of their survival or Noah's. My parents reluctantly began looking for a place for Noah; a year later, they chose a group home in the San Fernando Valley.

When we arrived, we were shown the room—four beds, three along one wall and the other in a corner, two windows with vinyl draperies—that Noah would share with three other boys. My parents signed some paperwork and showed the staff how to use the rice cooker they were donating so that Noah could still eat his favorite



**Family ties** The author, far left, and his brother Noah play on the steps of their home in Westwood, Calif., circa 1972

food. My mother had sewn labels into all his clothes and prepared a huge stack of *gyoza* dumplings for him. My parents were given additional forms to sign, including one that allowed the use of "aversives"—hits, slaps, spankings.

It wasn't forever, my father believed, as if he had packed his son off to a military academy for some discipline. But he knew, he already knew, that this felt wrong.

My mother was crying.

Noah bounced on a leather sofa, uninterested, and then reclined on his elbow. He didn't know this was forever; he didn't even know he wasn't coming home with us.

We left him sitting there. He waved to us, a weak, indifferent, limp-wristed gesture. Goodbye, like he didn't care.

Driving away felt like a crime.

That was the first of half a dozen residential placements for Noah. Some were better than others, but none of them was a place you would want to put your own child.

FAIRVIEW DEVELOPMENTAL CENTER WAS Noah's last institutional stop. Built during the 1950s, Fairview is a complex of stucco bungalows spread over 100 acres (40 hectares) next to a golf course. Noah lived in

Residence 14, one bungalow among about 50. In recent years, as the state has embraced a program known as Community Care, with the goal of moving developmentally disabled adults, including the severely autistic like Noah, from state facilities to local supported-living homes, these bungalows have been gradually shuttered. The money spent maintaining vast complexes like Fairview, the state believes, should instead be filtered through local agencies. Many of the higher-functioning developmentally disabled or autistic adults were never put into the state system to begin with, leaving the more difficult cases like Noah in facilities that increasingly rely on pharmaceuticals to treat any and all developmental and behavioral challenges.

Over the years, we noticed that each time we visited, Noah had a new scar, a black eye or a chipped tooth. In clinical parlance, these were Noah's "unobserved, self-inflicted injuries"—or USIs. One day, Noah had a dozen thick, black stitches on his forehead. As Noah's medications increased, so too did the number of USIs he suffered. Noah was already on Trileptal, Zyprexa and oral and injected Ativan. The collective side effects of these three drugs filled three pages of his IPP. I've looked and never been able to find a study of how they interact in "normal" individuals or the autistic. Because Noah had reached the maximum legal dosage for each of these medications, the Fairview staff urged another new medication, the antidepressant Remeron. (It is important to note that Noah suffers from no other physical illness, ailment or handicap. His problems are entirely neurological.)

But the drugs always seemed to make Noah worse, we pointed out.

They told us the choice was ours: either more drugs or a transfer to another ward in the facility where the most dangerous and criminally inclined autistic adults were housed.

My parents and I were desperate to find a well-run supported-living situation for Noah, but they're rare. When the state launched Community Care, numerous for-profit companies sprang up to house the developmentally disabled, each of whom is entitled to many thousands of dollars a year in state funding. The companies that have succeeded tend to work with higher-functioning autistic or developmentally disabled adults, those who pose little risk to themselves or others. Other companies are alleged to be provid-

**As large state mental institutions shut down, difficult cases like Noah remained, increasingly given drugs to treat most of their problems**



**Better days** Noah, near left, shares a moment of pure joy with his brother and future conservator at Noah's home in Los Angeles

ing inadequate care or even in some cases abusing clients.

The risks of Community Care for families of the adult autistic or mentally challenged are numerous. Perhaps the greatest worry is that the state will cut the promised funding per client, leaving families to foot the bill. Institutions like Fairview, flawed though they sometimes are, are often necessary for care of the lowest-functioning or violently autistic. The seemingly benign term *community care*, when it is invoked by conservative state representatives in domed capitols, is too often a code word for budget-cutting. The concept of moving the autistic into loving group homes where they will be taught or looked after is Edenic but inadequate to society's needs. For the high-functioning, such assisted-living situations are a better alternative than institutionalization; for the low-functioning, the concept is often

better than the reality. What happens if the supported-living home we find for Noah goes belly-up or loses its license or is just plain corrupt? Then where would Noah go? My parents simply can't care for him at home, nor could I.

And yet by 2005, my brother seemed almost in critical condition; we had no choice but to find yet another new place for Noah.

WHEN I WAS WRITING MY BOOK ABOUT my brother, *Boy Alone*, I wished I had a story of hope and salvation. It is miracles that sell books. There seems to be an insatiable demand for narratives that end in triumph over an affliction: the cripple walks, the mute speaks, the autistic boy laughs and hugs and cries. We hunger for that uplifting journey, as opposed to the cruel odyssey I had to tell. What did I have to offer? My adult brother, still autistic, still nonverbal, still lost. As much as I hope that all the autistic boys and girls will get better, and as much as I can encourage their families to fight with all the hope they have, I also know that they will not all recover. The boy or girl will grow up, and there won't be a miracle; instead there will be an effort, something like what my family goes through every day, to figure out what to do.

We did, however, catch our own small

break three years ago. Through the Westside Regional Center, my parents found out about Diverse Journeys, an assisted-living program willing to place Noah in a rented house in Los Angeles closer to my parents' home and therefore an easier commute for their weekly visits. Noah lives in a two-bedroom house with a roommate, a "normal" person, whose rent is partly subsidized in exchange for the attention she must pay to Noah when she is home. A rotating series of caregivers take Noah to the park or for walks or to fast-food restaurants during the day.

The program has made some real progress in weaning Noah from some of the medications he had been taking, cutting him down to two drugs from four. And the mysterious scars and bumps and bruises he was getting, what Fairview termed USIs, have largely ended. So far, Noah's assisted-living program represents a great improvement over Fairview, and my parents and I are thankful every day for this change in Noah's circumstances.

When Noah is happy, it is a stark, uncut ebullience, rising, as my father wrote in his first book about our family, *A Child Called Noah*, "from a deep, pure place." The joy emanates from him with such force that he will run toward me with his wide smile and rub his head against my shoulder in an almost feline gesture of pleasure. On days when Noah is in a good mood, when he is humming an up-tempo version of his melody of repeated, nonsensical syllables, we are again reminded that he is capable of great happiness.

Yet on some visits he is awful. He has good moods and bad moods. Just like me.

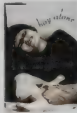
Is Noah happier in his new situation? Perhaps a little. He can never say.

Noah's condition persists, an immovable psychic object. As a family, we lived in the present, from crisis to crisis; my parents always mustering the energy for a response. My father is in his 80s now, my mother in her late 70s. They will go on as long as they can. Then I will try to step in.

Will I always be there for Noah, as my parents have been?

I wish I could say. Yes, definitely, I will be there.

But I honestly don't know. ■



Greenfeld is the author of *Boy Alone: A Brother's Memoir* (Harper), from which this article is adapted

**When Noah is happy, it is a stark, uncut ebullience, rising, as my father once wrote, 'from a deep, pure place.'**

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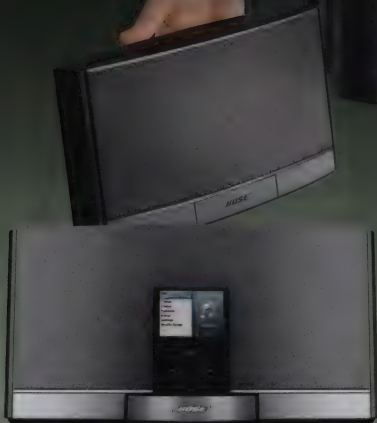
From the moment your child wakes up to the moment he goes to bed, your time is filled with taking care of his daily needs. But what about his future? At MassMutual, we have a program specifically designed for parents of children with disabilities and other special needs called SpecialCare.<sup>SM</sup> Our Special Care Planners are specifically trained in estate and tax planning concepts, special needs trusts and government programs to work with families living with autism and other special needs. And MassMutual has even sponsored a recent study with Easter Seals called *Living with Autism* to better understand your family's needs.

**To obtain a copy of the study's key findings, or to find a Special Care Planner, visit [MassMutual.com/Autism](http://MassMutual.com/Autism)**

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# THE WAY WE'LL WORK

Ten years ago, Facebook didn't exist. Ten years before that, we didn't have the Web. So who knows what jobs will be born a decade from now? Though unemployment is at a 25-year high, work will eventually return. But it won't look the same. No one is going to pay you just to show up. We will see a more flexible, more freelance, more collaborative and far less secure work world. It will be run by a generation with new values—and women will increasingly be at the controls. **Here are 10 ways your job will change. In fact, it already has.**

## JOB MIGRATION

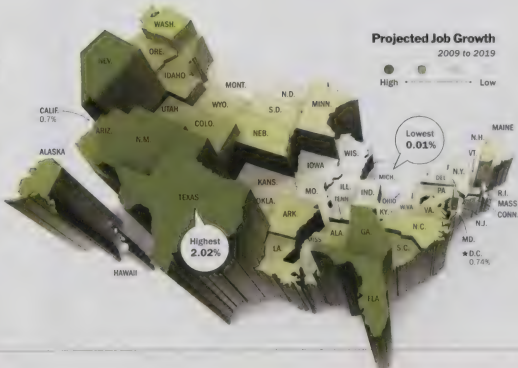
### WHERE THE JOBS ARE GOING

#### Top 5

Texas	2.02%
New Mexico	1.97%
Florida	1.91%
Nevada	1.90%
Georgia	1.74%

#### Bottom 5

Michigan	0.01%
Ohio	0.21%
Vermont	0.26%
Connecticut	0.32%
Wisconsin	0.32%



## JOBS

# HIGH TECH, HIGH TOUCH, HIGH GROWTH

ON A GLOOMY AFTERNOON EARLIER THIS MONTH, A GROUP OF Harvard students took a break from crafting final papers to peer into the future. Surveying a shattered employment landscape, they summoned the optimism to regard looming obstacles as opportunities for scenic detours. "There are definitely downsides to it being harder to get a job," says Alex Lavoie, a 21-year-old junior from Avon, Conn. "But it's forced people to look harder at what they really want to do instead of following a standardized path."

During the fat years, that path led many of America's elites to Wall Street. These days, that's a less appealing destination. In 2008 the financial sector, which had ballooned over the past three decades, contracted for the first time in 16 years. "The glamour is gone," says Bridget Beckeman, 20, a junior from Westford, Mass., who will intern at an investment bank this summer. But it hasn't disappeared. Financial centers like Charlotte, N.C., will flourish anew; driven largely by a banking boom, the city's workforce has grown 50% over the past decade, according to John Connaughton, a professor of economics at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

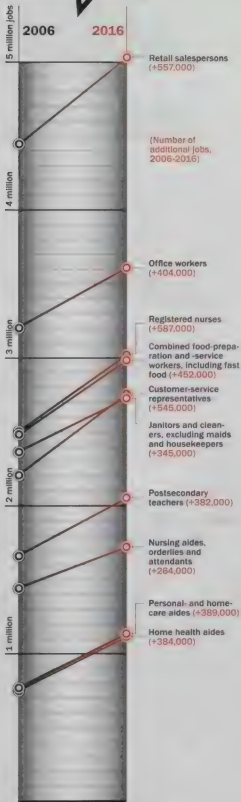
The fall of finance has its upside. Top grads will tack toward a variety of potentially lucrative positions that prize technological savvy and analytical aptitude. According to consulting giant McKinsey & Co., nearly 85% of new jobs created between 1998 and 2006 involved complex "knowledge work" like problem-solving and concocting corporate strategy. Job opportunities in mathematics and across the sciences are also expected to expand. The U.S. Department of Labor spotlights network systems and data communications as well as computer software engineering among the occupations projected to grow most explosively by 2016. Over the next seven years, the number of jobs in the information-technology sector is expected to swell 24%—a figure more than twice the overall job growth rate.

There will be some limits to that growth. "This place is going to get more and more high-end talent and less and less commodity-type folks," says Mark Dinan, a Silicon Valley recruiter. "The real question is, What's the next big thing, and what's going to be the big moneymaker?" Cloud computing? Nanotechnology? Genomics? The answer will come from the companies that entrepreneurs can create—and destroy—more easily than ever before, because the cost of start-ups is dropping rapidly. Richard Freeman, director of the labor studies program at the National Bureau of Economic Research, says that "these really sharp, aggressive, Harvard-type students doing entrepreneurship, forming new businesses... would be the best thing that could happen to this economy."

Where else could your next job come from? Health care and education, the labor market's traditional bulwarks in lean times, show no signs of abating. An aging population will open up opportunities too. "Construction of senior communities, assisted-living facilities, nursing homes... these things are all going to have to expand tremendously," says Connaughton. The key to finding the jobs of the future will be knowing where to look. —BY ALEX ALTMAN. WITH REPORTING BY STEVE GOLDBERG/CHARLOTTE AND MATT VILLANO/SAN FRANCISCO ■

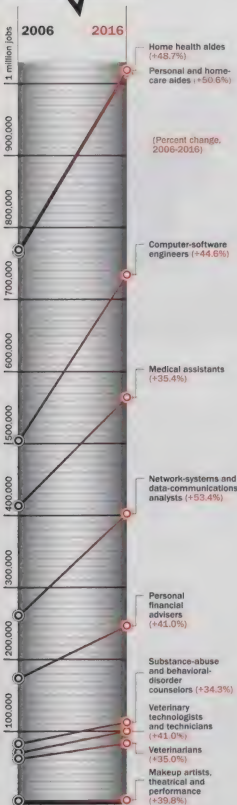
## THERE'S HELP WANTED...

The 10 jobs predicted to grow the most in number by 2016



## ... AND HELP NEEDED

The 10 jobs predicted to have the fastest growth rates by 2016



### BUSINESS SCHOOLS

## TRAINING MANAGERS TO BEHAVE

It's commencement day at the Thunderbird School of Global Management, a highly regarded off-the-beaten-track business school housed on a former military base (Thunderbird Field) in Glendale, Ariz., a suburb of Phoenix. The 279 graduates have gathered on a May afternoon in a convention center next door to the Arizona Cardinals football stadium. After a presentation of the flags of 35 nations and a speech by school president Angel Cabrera, something unusual happens.

"As a Thunderbird and a global citizen, I promise," Cabrera begins. The graduates repeat after him. Then the recitation continues:

*I will strive to act with honesty and integrity. I will respect the rights and dignity of all people. I will strive to create sustainable prosperity worldwide. I will oppose all forms of corruption and exploitation. And I will take responsibility for my actions. As I hold true to these principles, it is my hope that I may enjoy an honorable reputation and peace of conscience.*

This is the Thunderbird Oath of Honor, the unlikely leading edge of an assault on business as usual at business schools. It's part of a broader rethinking of the balance between doing well and doing good that could reshape the economy and the workplace in coming years—or could just stay a debating point. B schools, Thunderbird president Cabrera and his fellow rebels contend, are ethical wastelands partly to blame for the Wall Street collapse of the past year. Even those who defend B schools don't claim that they're moral beacons. Debating Cabrera in April at the annual convention of the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), Purdue business-school dean Richard Cosier attributed the crisis to "personal greed" and too much debt. "Personal greed reflects personal values," Cosier asserted when I caught him on the phone a few days later, "and you can't blame business schools for determining personal value systems."

## 77%

Schools with full-time M.B.A. programs where applications increased last year

There was a time, in the first half of the 20th century, when business schools did try to instill values and norms. They aimed to establish a profession of management that took its cues from medicine and the law. That effort fizzled by the 1970s, says Rakesh Khurana, a Harvard Business School prof whose 2007 history, *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands*, chronicles the shift. Khurana, a close ally of Cabrera's, argues that business schools have become trade schools focused on securing the highest-paying jobs for their graduates. "If you wonder why CEOs spend so much time thinking about whether their bathrooms are up to par," Khurana says, "look at the business schools they went to."

Khurana was a keynote speaker at the April AACSB convention, and he doesn't think his message went over well. "Two hours of making 1,200 people squirm in their seats" is how he describes it. It's not just business educators who squirm at the idea of management as a profession. When I mentioned it to a lawyer friend, he scoffed, "It doesn't work unless you have a professional exam, a licensing board and exposure to malpractice." Cabrera and Khurana agree. "The biggest question is—and we don't know the answer—How are we going to institutionalize this?" Cabrera says. We're a long way from a world where you could lose your management license for taking shortcuts to meet a quarterly-earnings target. But we do have the Thunderbird Oath.

Cabrera, a Spaniard with a psychology Ph.D. from Georgia Tech, introduced a similar oath as dean of a business school in Madrid, but it was abandoned after he left in 2004. In hopes of making the concept stick at Thunderbird, he put students in charge of writing the oath and getting faculty and trustee approval. Applicants to Thunderbird must write an essay discussing the oath, and students say it often comes up in class. A few don't love it. One student circulated an essay this spring declaring his unwillingness to sign or recite the "insulting," "tacky" oath. Not that it kept him from graduating: even at Thunderbird, making ethical promises mandatory is still seen as beyond the business-school pale. —BY JUSTIN FOX ■

## BENEFITS

# THE SEARCH FOR THE NEXT PERK

WAS IT A MIRAGE? NOT JUST OUR FORMERLY FAT 401(K)'S BUT also the whole idea of a comfortable work life followed by an evergreen retirement, replete with health coverage, perks aplenty and—oh, yes—pension checks as far as the eye could see.

Faced with the rapidly rising costs of such benefits, companies are scaling back. It's become distressingly clear that employees are increasingly on their own when it comes to retirement savings and health care.

Employers don't typically trash an important employee benefit—too much negative press—but they are shifting more of these costs onto workers, who feel it in the form of higher health-care premiums, rising co-payments on drugs and much less certainty about their retirement finances. You may be able to preserve your benefits in your next job. But you'll have to spend more of your own money to do so.

Towers Perrin, a global human-resources consulting firm, recently surveyed hundreds of U.S. companies representing more than 13 million employees on changes they are making—or contemplating making—to their employee-benefits packages. The knife cuts deepest on the most expensive benefits, with the biggest often being health care.

It costs the average American company more than \$14,000 per year to provide coverage to an employee and her family. The employer response: shift more of that growing burden to workers. As a result, companies have seen their health care spending rise 29% over the past five years, but employees have seen their outlays—for premiums, co-pays and deductibles—rise 40%.

Retiree health care is getting whacked hardest—just when the boomer generation needs it most. Of the employers surveyed, 45% have already reduced or eliminated subsidized health care coverage for future retirees, and an additional 24% are planning to do so or considering it. Of those offering the perk, roughly 25% put a dollar cap on how much they will spend per retiree. "Once the cap is reached, future inflation risk transfers to the retiree," notes Ron Fontanetta, an executive with Towers Perrin.

Corporate pensions, the third leg of the proverbial retirement stool (the other two being Social Security and personal savings), are also being eroded as the founding stock market wreaks havoc on employer pension funds. At the end of 2008, employer-sponsored pension plans were underfunded by more than \$400 billion, according to Mercer, a management consulting firm. The recent stock market rally has halved that deficit, but it remains a funding sore spot and is one more rea-

## 57%

Employers who say they have stopped offering a traditional pension plan—or are considering it



son that companies are turning away from this benefit. In mid-May, Cigna, the big insurer, joined a growing list of employers in announcing that it was "freezing" its pension plan—ending the accrual of new pension benefits for its workforce.

"Companies initiated many of these benefits in a different time," says Fontanetta. "Retiree benefits started being offered when many companies had a young workforce with few retirees, so it was not really a cost they had to contend with." Today it's the reverse, particularly in old-line industries. Detroit's Big Three automakers, for example, have more than four times as many retirees as active hourly workers.

Yet as some benefits disappear, others are blossoming, better suited to business realities and, in some ways, more prized by the younger workers that companies want to attract. That can mean account based plans, like the 401(k), with a generous employer match (in

flush times), or a more recent innovation known as the cash balance pension. It treats younger workers better than traditional pensions because it's based on pay and ignores tenure. It stacks up well against 401(k)s too because it typically grows with a fixed rate of return, so it will not be upended by a bear market.

And what will become of employer-sponsored health care? A little over a year ago, Towers Perrin asked workers to rank specific benefits and perks. The 45-and-over age groups ranked base pay and health care as their top two. The 18-to-34 age groups—the workers employers have their eye on—ranked base pay along with career advancement as their top priorities. The younger workers did not rank "retirement benefits" in their top 10, while that choice ranked third for the over 55s.

Too bad, boomers. You are no longer calling the tune on benefits. —BY JOHN CURRAN ■

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## CAREERS

## WE'RE GETTING OFF THE LADDER

ON THE WORST DAYS, CHRIS Keehn used to go 24 hours without seeing his daughter with her eyes open. A soft-spoken tax accountant in Deloitte's downtown Chicago office, he hated saying no when she asked for a ride to preschool. By November, he'd had enough. "I realized that I can have control of this," he says with a small shrug. Keehn, 33, met with two of the firm's partners and his senior manager, telling them he needed a change. They went for it. In January, Keehn started telecommuting four days a week, and when Kathryn, 4, starts T ball this summer, he will be sitting along the baseline.

In this economy, Keehn's move might sound like hopping onto the mommy track—or off the career track. But he's actually making a shrewd move. More and more, companies are searching for creative ways to save—by experimenting with reduced hours or unpaid furloughs or asking employees to move laterally. The up-or-out model, in which employees have to keep getting promoted quickly or get lost, may be growing outmoded. The changing expectations could persist after the economy reheats. Companies are increasingly supporting more natural growth, letting employees wend their way upward like climbing vines. It's a shift, in other words, from a corporate ladder to the career-path metaphor long preferred by Deloitte vice chair Cathy Benko: a lattice.

At Deloitte, each employee's lattice is nailed together during twice-a-year evaluations fo-

cused not just on career targets but also on larger life goals. An employee can request to do more or less travel or client service, say, or to move laterally into a new role—changes that may or may not come with a pay cut. Deloitte's data from 2008 suggest that about 10% of employees choose to "dial up" or "dial down" at any given time. Deloitte's Mass Career Customization (MCC) program began as a way to keep talented women in the workforce, but it has quickly become clear that women are not the only ones seeking flexibility. Responding to millennials demanding better work-life balance, young

parents needing time to share child-care duties and boomers looking to ease gradually toward retirement, Deloitte is scheduled to roll out MCC to all 42,000 U.S. employees by May 2010. Deloitte executives are in talks with more than 80 companies working on similar programs.

Not everyone is on board. A 33-year-old Deloitte senior manager in a southeastern office, who works half days on Mondays and Fridays for health reasons and requested anonymity because she was not authorized to speak on the record, says one "old school" manager insisted on scheduling meetings when she wouldn't be in the office. "He was like, 'Yeah, I know we have the program,'" she recalls, "but I don't really care."

Deloitte CEO Barry Salzberg admits he's still struggling to convert "non-believers," but says they are the exceptions. The recession provides an incentive for com-

panies to design more lattice-oriented careers. Studies show telecommuting, for instance, can help businesses cut real estate costs 20% and payroll 10%. What's more, creating a flexible workforce to meet staffing needs in a changing economy ensures that a company will still have legs when the market recovers. Redeploying some workers from one division to another—or reducing their salaries—is a whole lot less expensive than laying everyone off and starting from scratch.

Young employees who dial down now and later become managers may reinforce the idea that moving sideways on the lattice doesn't mean getting sidelined. "When I saw other people doing it," says Keehn, "I thought I could try." As the compelling financial incentives for flexibility grow clearer, more firms will be forced to give employees that chance. Turns out all Keehn had to do was ask.

—BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

80%

Segment of employees who would want work flexibility if it didn't harm their careers.





## RETIREMENT

## WHY BOOMERS CAN'T QUIT

EVEN BEFORE THE FINANCIAL CRISIS, MANY BABY BOOMERS hadn't saved enough for retirement. Then stocks plummeted. In 1998, the average 50-year-old who had been working for at least 10 years had a 401(k) balance of \$85,000, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute. Factor in the recent market drop, and more than a decade later, that worker's 401(k) has grown to just \$93,000. In short, we keep getting older, but our 401(k) balances, they stay the same.

Investment firm T. Rowe Price calculates that the oldest boomers will have to delay retirement by nearly nine years in order to recover what they lost in the market. The somewhat good news is that if they defer Social Security and save 25% of their salary, they can reach their golden years in half the time. And it's not just boomers. With the expectation that stocks and real estate will yield less in the future, all of us will have to push back our retirement. Bottom line: "We will have to work

longer and harder than we had planned," says Steven Davis, visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

In the next year or so, older workers hanging on will make things worse. Retirement waves usually smooth recessions, as 60-somethings quit, start spending pensions and savings, and make room for younger workers. This time, though, economists think the unemployment rate will surpass 10% for the first time in decades—in part because the normal retirement cycle has been disrupted.

But once the downturn is done, the presence of older workers could be a positive. When more people work, more people spend freely, and that creates jobs. For example, women entering the workforce in the 1960s and '70s didn't cause permanently higher unemployment. There were positive offsets instead: demand for child-care workers took off, the prepared-foods industry boomed. And unemployment rates in the following decades hit new lows. What's more, as jobs in traditional corporate America filled up, more people struck out on their own. New companies were formed. New industries popped up.

A healthy supply of older workers can be the salve for one of the worst types of economic poison—inflation. That may make it harder to get a raise, but it will also lead to higher profits, lower-priced goods and a stronger economy.

Boomers will try to hang on to their jobs en masse. This isn't just any generation—it's the largest, making up 38% of the workforce. Some believe that the U.S. economy is too mature to rapidly create great numbers of new jobs—or at least the traditional kind. Already, older workers are crowding out the younger generation. According to the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University, employment rates for teens and 20-somethings this decade

have fallen, while the number of Americans 55 and older who have jobs has gone up.

That's not all bad either. Young workers are much more flexible when it comes to finding work. They will be more likely to start businesses, embrace new technologies and industries, come up with new ideas to make money and take lower wages. "In downturns, there's more grumbling when the Old Guard is not exiting at the usual rate," says Claudia Goldin, an economics professor at Harvard University. "But the economy has great absorptive capacity. As long as no one is being forced, more people participating in the workforce is better for everyone."

So, over the next decade, have some respect for those working graybeards. By choosing not to retire, they may be doing you a favor.

—BY STEPHEN GANDEL

## THE SEXES

## WOMEN WILL RULE BUSINESS

**Work-life balance.** In most corporate circles, it's the sort of phrase that gives hard-charging managers the hives, bringing to mind yoga-infused, candlelit meditation sessions and—more frustratingly—rows of empty office cubicles.

So, what if we renamed work-life balance? Let's call it something more masculine and appealing, something like ... um ... **Make More Money.** That might lift heads off desks. A few people might show up at a meeting to discuss that new phenomenon driving the bottom line: Women, and the way we want to work, are extremely good for business.

Let's start with the female management style. It turns out it's not soft; it's lucrative. The

**U.S. savings are down**  
Average 401(k)  
account value

**...retirements  
are on hold**

**13%**

Percent of workers  
who believe they have  
saved enough for  
retirement

**...and the  
workforce is aging**

Percent of workers  
who are 55 or older

2008 **17%**  
2016 (proj.) **23%**

# IT WILL PAY TO SAVE THE PLANET



IT'S NO SECRET THAT U.S. workers are in trouble, with the unemployment rate at 8.9% and rising. At the same time, the world faces a long-term climate crisis. But what if there is a way to solve both problems with one policy? A number of environmentalists and economists believe that by implementing a comprehensive energy program, we can not only avert the worst consequences of climate change but also create millions of new jobs—green jobs—in the U.S. “We can allow climate change to wreak unnatural havoc, or we can create jobs preventing its worst effects,” President Barack Obama said recently. “We know the right choice.”

What's a green job? It depends on whom you ask. Some categories are obvious: if you're churning out solar panels, you're getting a green paycheck. But by some counts, so are steelworkers whose product goes into wind turbines or

Source: U.S. Conference of Mayors

## 2.5 million

Estimated number of green jobs in 2018, by 2018—up 2.5 million increase from 2008 number

contractors who weatherize homes. According to a report by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, there are already more than 750,000 green jobs in the U.S.

Environmental advocates say that with the right policies, those job figures could swell. The Mayors' report predicts that for the next three decades, green employment could provide up to 10% of all job growth. As part of its stimulus package, the White House directed more than \$60 billion to clean-energy projects, including \$600 million for green-job-training programs. The hope is that capping carbon emissions, even if it raises energy prices

in the short term, will create a demand for green jobs, which could provide meaningful work for America's blue collar unemployed.

To some critics, that sounds too good to be true. In a recent report, University of Illinois law professor Andrew Morriss argued that estimates of the potential for green employment vary wildly and that government subsidies would be less efficient—and produce lower job growth—than the free market. “This is all smoke and mirrors,” says Morriss. “I don't see how you can replace the existing jobs that may be lost.”

The reality is somewhere between the skeptics and the starry-eyed greens. We won't be able to create a solar job for every unemployed autoworker. But with climate change a real threat, shifting jobs from industries that harm the earth to ones that sustain it will become an economic imperative.

—BY BRYAN WALSH

workplace-research group Catalyst studied 353 FORTUNE 500 companies and found that those with the most women in senior management had a higher return on equities—by more than a third.

Are the women themselves making the difference? Or are these smart firms that make smart moves, like promoting women? There is growing evidence that in today's marketplace the female management style is not only distinctly different but also essential. Studies from Cambridge University and the University of Pittsburgh suggest that women manage more cautiously than men do. They focus on the long term. Men thrive on risk, especially when surrounded by other men. Wouldn't the economic crisis have unfolded a bit differently if Lehman Brothers had had a few more women on board?

Women are also less competitive, in a good way. They're consensus builders, conciliators and collaborators, and they employ what is called a transformational leadership style—heavily engaged, motivational, extremely well suited for the emerging, less

hierarchical workplace. Indeed, when the Chartered Management Institute in the U.K. looked ahead to 2018, it saw a work world that will be more fluid and more virtual, where the demand for female management skills will be stronger than ever. Women, CMI predicts, will move rapidly up the chain of command, and their

emotional-intelligence skills may become ever more essential.

That trend will accelerate with the looming talent shortage. The Employment Policy Foundation estimated that within the next decade there would be a 6 million-person gap between the number of college graduates and the number of college-educated workers needed to cover job growth. And who receives the majority of college and advanced degrees? Women. They also control 83% of all consumer purchases, including consumer electronics, health care and cars. Forward-looking companies understand they need women to figure out how to market to women.

All that—the female management style, education levels, purchasing clout—is already being used, by pioneering women and insightful companies, to create a female-friendly working environment, in which the focus is on results, not on time spent in the office chair. On efficiency, not schmoozing. On getting the job done, however that happens best—in a three-day week, at night after the

kids go to bed, from Starbucks.

And here's the real kicker. When a company gives employees freedom, it doesn't just feel good or get shiny, happy workers—productivity goes up. Ask firms like Capital One, which runs a company without walls or mandatory office time. Or Best Buy, which implemented a system called ROWE—results-only work environment—and found that productivity, in some cases, shot up 40%. Flexibility is no longer a favor to be handed out like candy at a children's birthday party; it's a compelling business strategy.

So we need to get rid of the nutty-crunchy moral component of the work-life balance and make a business case for it. It's easy to do. In fact, a decade from now, companies will understand that hiring lots of women, and letting them work the way they want, will help them Make More Money.

—BY CLAIRE SHIPMAN AND KATTY KAY

Shipman and Kay are the authors of *Womenomics*, due out June 2



## 8%

Growth of women in the workplace over the next 10 years, compared with 2011, according to a survey



40%

The percentage of the U.S. workforce expected to be independent contractors by 2019, up from 26% today

moving up slowly and getting the corner office—that's going away. In 10 years, it will be gone," says Bruce Tulgan, head of the consulting firm Rainmaker Thinking, based in New Haven, Conn., and author of a new book about managing Gen Y called *Not Everyone Gets a Trophy*. "Instead, success will be defined not by rank or seniority but by getting what matters to you personally," whether that's the chance to lead a new product launch or being able to take winters off for snowboarding. Tulgan adds, "Companies already want more short-term independent contractors and consultants and fewer traditional employees because contractors are cheaper. And seniority matters less and less as time goes on, because it's about the past, not the future."

Superannuated boomers won't vanish from the workplace altogether: people in their 60s and 70s—because of either need or desire—will be among the 40% of the U.S. workforce that will rent out its skills. "Boomers will be working part-time as coaches, strategists and consultants," predicts Joanne Sujansky, a co-author of a book due out in June called *Keeping the Millennials*. "By 2019, there will be many more of those opportunities than there are now because boomers will need the income and companies will need their expertise." Says Reid: "We'll see an increase in job-sharing at very senior levels. You might have two boomers who share the job of chief financial officer, for instance, which lets them keep working and also have some leisure time."

## THE WORKPLACE

# WHEN GEN X RUNS THE SHOW

BY 2019, GENERATION X—THAT RELATIVELY SMALL COHORT born from 1965 to 1978—will have spent nearly two decades bumping up against a gray ceiling of boomers in senior decision-making jobs. But that will end. Janet Reid, managing partner at Global Lead, a consulting firm that advises companies like PepsiCo and Procter & Gamble, says, "In 2019, Gen X will finally be in charge. And they will make some big changes."

They'll have to, because the workforce Gen Xers will be leading will have altered almost beyond recognition. For one thing, Generation Y—the tattooed, techno-raised bunch born from 1979 to 2000—is unlikely to follow in their parents' footsteps. They think putting in long years of effort at any one company in exchange for a series of raises and promotions is pointless—not that they'll get the chance. "Paying your dues,





## MANUFACTURING

# YES, WE'LL STILL MAKE STUFF

The death of American manufacturing has been greatly exaggerated. According to U.N. statistics, the U.S. remains by far the world's largest manufacturer, producing nearly twice as much value as No. 2 China. Since 1990, U.S. manufacturing output has grown by nearly \$800 billion—an amount larger than the entire manufacturing economy of Germany, a global powerhouse.

But growth does not mean jobs. While sales soared (at least until the recession), manufacturing employment sank. Using constantly improving technology to make more-valuable goods, American workers doubled their productivity in less than a generation—which, paradoxically, rendered millions of them obsolete.

This new manufacturing workforce can be seen in the gleaming and antiseptic room in Southern California where Edwards Lifesciences produces artificial-heart valves. You could say the small group of workers at the Edwards plant, most of them Asian women, are seamstresses. Unlike the thousands of U.S. textile workers whose jobs have migrated to low-wage countries, however, these highly skilled women occupy a niche in which U.S. firms are dominant and growing. Each replacement valve requires eight to 12 hours of meticulous hand-sewing—some 1,800 stitches so tiny that the work is done under a microscope. Up to a year of training goes into preparing a new hire to join the operation.

Highly skilled workers creating high-value products in high-stakes industries—that's the sweet spot for manufacturing workers in coming years. After an initial surge of enthusiasm for shipping jobs of all kinds to low-wage countries, many U.S. companies are making a distinction between exportable jobs and jobs that should stay home. Edwards, for example, has moved its rote assembly work—building electronic monitoring machines—to such lower-wage and -tax locales as Puerto Rico. But when quality is a matter of life or death and production processes involve trade secrets worth billions, the U.S. wins, says the company's head

of global operations, Corinne Lyle. "We like to keep close tabs on our processes."

Recent corner-cutting scandals in China—lead-paint-tainted children's toys, melamine-laced milk—have underlined the advantages of manufacturing at home. A botched toy is one thing; a botched batch of hep-ari or a faulty aircraft component is quite another. According to Clemson University's Aleda Roth, who studies quality control in global supply chains, the successful companies of coming years will be the ones that make product safety—not just price—a "big factor in their decisions about where to locate jobs."

Innovative companies will also stay home thanks to America's superior network of universities and its relatively stringent intellectual-property laws. Consider, for instance, the secretive and successful South Carolina textilemaker Milliken & Co. While the rest of the region's low-tech, backward-looking textile industry was fading away, Milliken pushed ahead, investing heavily in research and becoming a hive of new patents.

U.S. manufacturing will also be buoyed by a third source of power: the American consumer. Even in our current battered condition, the U.S. is the world's most prosperous marketplace. As global economic activity rebounds, so will energy prices. The cost of shipping foreign-made goods to the U.S. market will begin to offset overseas wage advantages. We saw that last year when oil prices zoomed toward \$200 per barrel.

Thus, even if fewer cars are built by America's wounded automakers, there will still be plenty of car factories in the U.S. They will be owned by Japanese and Chinese and Korean and German and Italian firms, but they will employ American workers. It just makes sense to build the cars near the people you expect to buy them.

Raised on images of Carnegie and Ford, we rue the loss of once smoky, now silent megaplants but are blind to the small and midsize companies replacing them. Ultimately, what's endangered is not U.S. manufacturing. It is our deeply ingrained cultural image of the factory and its workers.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE

The Gen X managers who will be holding all this together will need to be adept at a few things that earlier generations, with their more hierarchical management styles and relative geographical insularity, never really had to learn. One of those is collaborative decision-making that might involve team members scattered around the world, from Beijing to Barcelona to Boston, whom the nominal leader of a given project may never have met in person. "By 2019, every leader will have to be culturally dexterous on a global scale," says Reid. "A big part of that is knowing how to motivate and reward people who are very different from yourself."

They don't teach that in B school—at least not yet. In fact, Rob Carter, chief in formation officer at FedEx, thinks the best training for anyone who wants to succeed in 10 years is the online game *World of Warcraft*. Carter says *WoW*, as its 10 million devotees worldwide call it, offers a peek into the workplace of the future. Each team faces a fast-paced, complicated series of obstacles called quests, and each player, via his online avatar, must contribute to resolving them or else lose his place on the team. The player who contributes most gets to lead the team—until someone else contributes more. The game, which many Gen Yers learned as teens, is intensely collaborative, constantly demanding and often surprising. "It takes exactly the same skill set people will need more of in the future to collaborate on work projects," says Carter. "The kids are already doing it."

—BY ANNE FISHER

**15%**

Projected total growth in U.S. manufacturing output over the next five years

## THE OFFICE

## THE LAST DAYS OF CUBICLE LIFE

WHEN FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT UNVEILED THE JOHNSON WAX Building in 1939, it showcased a new way of looking at work. One room, covering half an acre (0.2 hectare), was filled with women, lined up in rows, typing. Work didn't necessarily mean loud, dirty factories, but it still involved sitting in orderly rows, doing orderly work for a finicky boss.

In order to understand what your workplace is going to be like in five or 10 years, you need to think about what your work is going to be like. Here's a clue: employers no longer need to pay you to drive to a building to sit and type. In fact, under pressure from an uncertain economy, bosses are discovering that there are a lot of reasons not to pay you to drive to a central location or even to pay you at all. And when work gets auctioned off to the lowest bidder, your job gets a lot more stressful.

The job of the future will have very little to do with processing words or numbers (the Internet can do that now). Nor will we need many people to act as placeholders, errand runners or receptionists. Instead, there's going to be a huge focus on finding the essential people and outsourcing the rest.

So, are you essential? Most of the best jobs will be for people who manage customers, who organize fans, who do digital community management. We'll continue to need brilliant designers, energetic brainstormers and rigorous lab technicians. More and more, though, the need to actually show up at an office that consists of an anonymous hallway and a farm of cubicles or closed doors is just going to fade away. It's too expensive, and it's too slow. I'd rather send you a file at the end of my day (when you're in a very different time zone) and have the information returned to my desktop when I wake up tomorrow. We may never meet, but we're both doing essential work.

When you do come in to work, your boss will know. If anything can be measured, it will be measured. The boss will know when you log in, what you type, what you access. Not just the boss but also your team. Internet technology makes working as a team, synchronized to a shared goal, easier and more productive than ever. But as in a three-legged race, you'll instantly know when a teammate is struggling, because that will slow you down as well. Some people will embrace this new high-stress, high-speed, high-flexibility way of work. We'll go from a few days alone at home, maintaining the status quo, to urgent team sessions, sometimes in person, often online. It will make some people yearn for jobs like those in the old days, when we fought traffic, sat in a cube, typed memos, took a long lunch and then sat in traffic again.

The only reason to go to work, I think, is to do work. It's too expensive a trip if all you want to do is hang out. Work will mean managing a tribe, creating a movement and operating in teams to change the world. Anything less is going to be outsourced to someone a lot cheaper and a lot less privileged than you or me. —BY SETH GODIN

Godin is a popular blogger ([sethgodin.typepad.com](http://sethgodin.typepad.com)) and the author of 12 international best sellers. His most recent book is *Tribes*

PHOTO ESSAY.  
HAVING FUN AT  
THE OFFICE

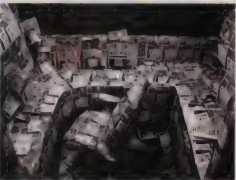
When NBC's *The Office*, starring Steve Carell, started taping its satirical parodies of their work scenarios, more than 3,500 photos flooded in. Among the gems, a desk done up like an Easter basket, an office wrapped in foil and cardboard plus fested with the face of the show's whipping boy, Dwight Schrute.

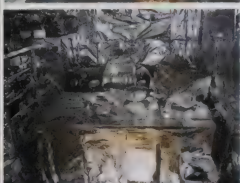


28%

Estimated percentage of the workforce who telecommute full or part time, up from 12% in 2000

Source: Gartner Dataquest







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# The Future of Capitalism

TIME 100

With our economic world changing so rapidly, many writers and thinkers are looking at the roots of capitalism and how it must evolve. In the first of our series of TIME 100 roundtables, we gathered a stellar cast of honorees to ponder the road ahead

**ARIANNA HUFFINGTON**, *Web entrepreneur*

**ON CAPITALISM** It was clear among many of the founders of capitalism that there had to be a moral foundation. What happened is that capitalism was reduced to Ayn Rand--ian selfishness. We need to recapture the principle that you do well, but in the process of doing well, you give back.

**ON THE BAILOUT** What is fascinating is the agreement among serious economists that we're doing the wrong thing by trying to protect the Wall Street oligarchy. What's amazing is that we're not having enough of a populist outrage about that.

**ON THE MARKET** My concern is that we're looking at the stock market as an indicator of self-correction, and I think that's a fallacy. There is still an illusion among many in this country that we can just get back to where we were, and I believe a) we cannot and b) we should not.

**ON POVERTY** The World Food Program estimates that if you spend just over \$2 billion, you can feed every schoolchild going hungry around the world. We actually need to look at the opportunity cost of what we are not doing when we are saving Citigroup.

**TAVIS SMILEY**, *radio host and broadcaster*

**ON CAPITALISM** I don't think that left to its own devices, capitalism moves along smoothly and everyone gets treated fairly in the process. Capitalism is like a child: if you want the child to grow up to be free and productive, somebody's got to look over the shoulder of that child.

**ON THE BAILOUT** Let's be clear: everybody in this room now is a stockholder in companies that we did not intend to be stockholders in. I'm a stockholder now by chance and not by choice.

**ON POVERTY** I think the American people are O.K. with rich people doing O.K. There is no war against the rich in this country. The question is, When do you start balancing the conversation and start talking about how to lift everybody else up out of poverty? That's not what's happening.

**ON UNEMPLOYMENT** A rising tide lifts all boats, but if you're in a yacht and I'm in a dinghy, we still got a problem here. And that's not counting the folks who are in the water but don't have a yacht or a dinghy.

David Sheff

Somaly Mam

Stephan Schuster

Wendy Kopp

John Legend





STEPHAN SCHUSTER, *molecular biologist and biochemist*

**ON CAPITALISM** The system as a whole is still working. But for capitalism to have a future, it needs to survive. What are the regulatory mechanisms that will ensure that in 100 years—in 500 years—there still is a system?

**ON THE ECONOMY** Decisions are being made on quarterly reports, annual reports. National decision makers are re-elected on four-year cycles, six-year cycles. You cannot plan a robust, resilient future if all the decisions that you make have to be paid back in the time frame that you as a person would benefit from.

**ON UNEMPLOYMENT** In other areas of the world, the crisis is about finding qualified people. It's not about finding jobs.

**ON POVERTY** We've been talking about converting bonds into equity. Maybe we need to let people convert the equity that they got into vouchers that can be used for education.

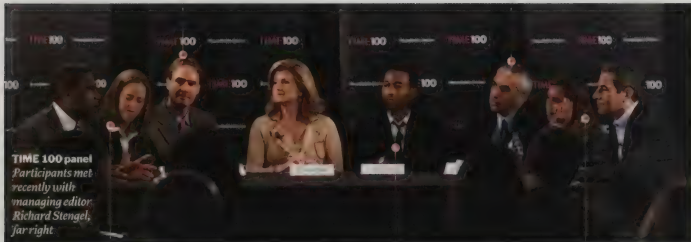
DAVID SHEFF, *author of the addiction memoir Beautiful Boy*

**ON HEALTH CARE** A very short time ago, it would have been unthinkable that we would be able to break apart our health-care system in ways that it needs to be broken apart. Here's an opportunity to rethink the whole thing.

**ON ADDICTION** Recently President Obama said something that anybody who works in this field knows intimately: that we need a new paradigm. We have to treat

addiction, drugs and mental illness for what they are: a health-care crisis. For every dollar spent to treat mental-health-related problems, we save \$36 on other costs.

**ON DRUGS** In the field that I've been working in, there's a conversation about something that was unthinkable years ago: decriminalizing marijuana. Instead of sending people to jail, that money can be directed to treatment.



**TIME 100 panel**  
Participants met  
recently with  
managing editor  
Richard Stengel,  
far right

WENDY KOPP, *CEO, Teach for America*

**ON SERVICE** If someone had said 20 years ago that 15% of Princeton's senior class would apply to teach in our highest-poverty communities, people wouldn't have believed it. There's something truly profound about that.

**ON EDUCATION** We could solve education inequity. We can certainly reach the point in our country where every kid gets an excellent education. There's nothing keeping us from that other than enough tremendous leaders, tremendous talent, channeling their energy in that direction.

**ON INEQUALITY** We are seeing evidence that when we build our schools in a certain way, when we teach kids in a certain way, we can take kids that face challenges of poverty and racism and put them on a level playing field.

**ON THE GLOBAL LEARNING GAP** On these international comparisons, our kids are comparable to the average kids in Spain and Portugal. They're quantifying the impact of that to it costing us between \$1.3 trillion and \$2.3 trillion a year.

SOMALY MAM, *activist*

**'Sexual exploitation is happening around the world. It's not just in Cambodia, not just in poor countries ... If women don't have an education, they can be exploited everywhere.'**

JOHN LEGEND, *musician*

**ON CAPITALISM** I believe there is a role for the government to play in evening the playing field and investing in development. We need to invest in the future and invest in the global good. Capitalism is not just a free-for-all, every man for himself.

**ON EDUCATION** It is not acceptable for our education system to be as poor as it is. We know we can raise people's IQ significantly, just based on a better [learning] environment, better parenting techniques and better schools.

**ON THE FUTURE OF WORK** Young people going into the workplace have to be more dynamic. We won't stay in a job for 30 or 40 years like our parents did. My dad worked in a truck factory from the day he got out of the National Guard to when he retired. The same factory. Those jobs aren't going to be there.

**ON POVERTY** It's going to be better for the globe, it's going to be better for capitalism itself if we don't have nearly a billion people living on less than a dollar a day.



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'I've been fiddling with netbooks, trying to understand their burgeoning popularity. But I'm still mystified.'

FAMILY TECH, PAGE 61

# Life

□ SOCIAL NORMS □ FAMILY TECH



## SOCIAL NORMS

**Everything but the Ring.** More couples are deciding to live together and raise a family. Why bother getting married?

BY LISA SELIN DAVIS

FOR WELL OVER A YEAR, I campaigned for my boyfriend and me to wed. "I don't see what the point of marriage is," he'd say. Public avowals of love, I suggested—or presents? "Le Creuset?" I'd ask, mostly joking. Eventually I gave up and

moved on to the next topic: babies. Absolutely, he replied. We'd been together for 2½ years by that point, and while he didn't want to bother getting married, a family was something he could happily commit to.

It turns out he's in good company. More than 5 million unmarried couples cohabit

in the U.S., nearly eight times the number in 1970, and a record-breaking 40% of babies born in 2007 had unmarried parents (that's up 25% from 2002). Sure, there are plenty of baby-daddies in the Levi Johnston vein, i.e., young and accidental. But nonmarital births have increased the most among women ages 25

to 39, doubling since 1980, thanks in part to a small but growing demographic a sociologist has dubbed committed unmarrieds (CUs). These are the happily unwed—think

*I don'ts* McCauley says he loves his lady (here with their kids in Silicon Valley) too much to marry her

Brad and Angelina, Oprah and Stedman, Goldie and Kurt—whose commitment to their partners is as strong as their stance against marriage.

Celebrities, gay-marriage bans and fear of divorce are helping fuel the rise in unwedded bliss. "We love each other far, far too much to ever actually get married," says Raymond McCauley, 43, a biotech engineer in Mountain View, Calif., who has twin 2-year-olds with his partner of five years, Kristina Hathaway. His opposition to marriage is political, in solidarity with gays who can't legally wed in most states, and personal—he and his partner both got divorced in their 20s, an experience that has led McCauley to liken marriage to food poisoning: "You don't want to eat that thing again, even if you know it's perfectly fine this time."

In lieu of a marriage license, he and Hathaway have drawn up legal documents that grant them rights automatically afforded married couples, covering everything from child custody to property. And yet this arrangement

still gives him some sense of freedom. "Every day we're making this decision and this commitment anew," he says. "I'm not with you because there would be legal speed bumps to get through if we weren't. I'm with you because this is where I want to be."

Is marriage on its way to becoming the relationship equivalent of our appendix (in that it's no longer needed but can cause a lot of pain)? "You're looking at the vanguard," sociologist Andrew Cherlin says of CUs like McCauley and Hathaway. A Johns Hopkins professor and author of *The Marriage-Go-Round: The State of Marriage and the Family in America Today*, he notes that unmarried parents in Europe stay together longer than married parents in the U.S. "Marriage is a more powerful symbol here," he says. "It's the ultimate merit badge of personal life." And if it doesn't fulfill people's (often overwrought) expectations, they leave.

Indeed, a study published in the December *Journal of Marriage and Family* found that

a man's involvement in his partner's pregnancy—trips to the doctor, childbirth classes, etc.—was the best way to secure his long-term dedication. Lead author Natasha Cabrera of the University of Maryland says, "It is the decision that couples make to strengthen commitment and move in together that is important, rather than marital status per se."

Marriage can always end, and the protection it once offered offspring is now covered by child-support laws. Add that development to the gains made by the domestic partnership movement, and, Cherlin says, "the legal advantages of marriage, the benefits that one would get, are eroding." This is one reason CUs like Charles Backman, 44, a commercial real estate developer in New Hampshire, see marriage as outdated at best. Backman wants no part of what he calls "the government stamp" of approval on his relationship to his partner of 15 years. "People mistake the government sanctioning your marriage for commitment," he says. The father of three girls

ages 1 to 7, Backman finds marriage not only unnecessary but also tarnished by commercialization. By not marrying, he says, "I saved \$50,000 on a wedding, money I can use to help pay for the kids' college."

But while Backman saved a lot of money by withstanding the pressure to have a lavish wedding, over time it is costing him a bundle to remain unmarried: since he is not covered by his partner's company health-insurance plan, he pays \$12,000 a year for his own policy. "As I get older and sicker, I'm much more likely to get the rubber stamp," he admits.

Of course, unmarried isn't a guarantee of love everlasting any more than marriage is. According to Rutgers University's National Marriage Project, cohabiting couples are at least twice as likely to break up as married couples are. Long term, notes Stephanie Coontz, a professor of history and family studies at Washington's Evergreen State College, unmarried works only if both people are equally committed to the lack of legal commitment. If they're not, to borrow a phrase from Beyoncé: If you like it, then you should have put a ring on it.

The majority of cohabitants either break up or marry within five years, says Alison Hatch, a grad student at the University of Colorado who is doing her dissertation on committed unmarrieds, a demographic to which she and her partner of six years belong. She and Coontz have found that many of them end up marrying because they face the same discrimination as gay couples regarding insurance, taxes and other legal issues. Having kids can also change things. David Letterman didn't say what prompted him in March to wed his partner of 23 years, who is also the mother of his 5-year-old son. I know that in our case, the plus sign on my pregnancy test led my boyfriend and me to marry in April, which has made our relationship feel more committed, but maybe a little less cool.

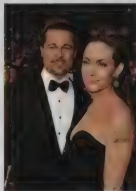
## Famously Unmarried. Here are some couples who are committed to a lack of legal commitment

### OPRAH AND STEDMAN

TOGETHER SINCE: 1986  
CHILDREN TOGETHER: 0

#### OPRAH SAYS ...

"The relationship as it is works really, really solidly well."



### BRANGELINA

TOGETHER SINCE: 2005  
CHILDREN TOGETHER: 6

#### BRAD SAYS ...

They'll "consider tying the knot when everyone... who wants to be married is legally able."

### KURT AND GOLDIE

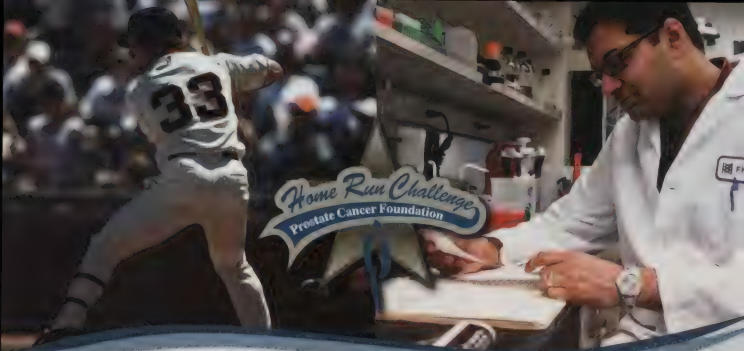
TOGETHER SINCE: 1983  
CHILDREN TOGETHER: 1

#### GOLDIE SAYS ...

"I could walk out at any moment, but we choose to be together."







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# FAMILY TECH

**Netbooks.** The best way to use these little laptops is online. Which is why a cellular provider is subsidizing them



## BY THE NUMBERS

**\$399**

Projected average netbook cost by the end of '09, according to research firm Gartner

**79%**

Projected rise in mini-notebook sales since '08

**3%**

Projected rise in all laptop sales during that time

## BY JOSH QUITNER

FOR MONTHS, I'VE BEEN FIDDLING with a variety of netbooks, trying to understand their burgeoning popularity. But I'm still mystified.

Netbooks are small, stripped-down laptops that are inexpensive (\$400-ish) and lightweight (3 lb.-ish). But their screens and keyboards are too petite for my taste, and they tend to lack the all-important DVD drive. That said, the idea behind netbooks isn't a bad one: since just about every type of program we need is freely available online (from e-mail to PowerPoint knockoffs), why pay for expensive computers that run expensive software programs? Better yet, when you create a document using one of these free services, you can't lose it; the document lives up in the "cloud," on a server, there whenever you want it.

If, that is, you're connected to the Net. AT&T recently announced a pilot project in

Atlanta and Philadelphia that lets netbook users log on anywhere they can get a 3G cellular signal, which will greatly expand coverage beyond the usual islands of wi-fi. In exchange for commitment to a two-year data-service plan, AT&T is subsidizing a range of mini-laptops, which start as low as \$49.99. The data plan costs from \$40 per month (for 200 MB, which is good for business users), to \$60 per month (for 5 GB, enough to move around music and video).

AT&T let me test the service at my home in Northern California, and it worked well. In terms of speed, side-by-side tests actually gave AT&T's 3G cellular network the edge over my cable-powered wi-fi network. And no matter where I roamed outside, so long as 3G or wi-fi was available, I was able to get online. No word when this service plan will be commercially available nationwide. Maybe by the time it is, I'll understand the netbook phenomenon too. ■

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# Arts

MOVIES TELEVISION EXHIBITIONS BOOKS MUSIC

## SUMMER PREVIEW

Movies

### FUNNY GUYS. CAVEMEN AND CLASSIC COMEDIANS

**Brüno** How could Sacha Baron Cohen follow his *Borat* smash? By playing an Austrian fashion guru in another shock mock doc. The MPAA rated an early cut NC-17, giving *Brüno* priceless publicity. 7/10

**Year One** Jack Black and Michael Cera star in a prehistorical farce from Harold Ramis (*Groundhog Day*). 6/19

**Whatever Works** Free spirit Evan Rachel Wood charms cynic Larry David in Woody Allen's magical Manhattan. 6/19

**Funny People** Judd Apatow directs Adam Sandler as a veteran comic befriending novice Seth Rogen. 7/31



## SUMMER LOVE. IT GIRLS, OBSESSIONS AND THE JOY OF COOKING

**1. JULIE & JULIA** While Julie (Amy Adams) cooks her way through Julia Child's magnum opus, Meryl Streep impersonates its author in Nora Ephron's ode to passion in the kitchen. *8/7*

**2. I LOVE YOU, BETH COOPER** High school grind (Paul Rust) announces his adoration to the unattainable Beth (Heroes' Hayden Panettiere), and she's game to give him a test drive in this improbability from Chris Columbus (*Home Alone*). *7/10*

**3. (500) DAYS OF SUMMER** How to lose a girlfriend? Let Joseph Gordon-Levitt count the ways. Delectable Zoëy Deschanel is the object of his obsession. *7/17*

**4. THE UGLY TRUTH** Rom-com princess Katherine Heigl gets dating tips from macho lout Gerard Butler under the direction of Robert Luketic (*Legally Blonde*). *7/24*



## TOUGH GUYS. COPS, ROBBERS, SOLDIERS AND...CIVIL SERVANTS

**The Hurt Locker** In a sense, U.S. soldiers in Iraq have had a single mission: defuse the ticking time bomb of insurgency. Members of the Army bomb disposal unit did that literally, and director Kathryn Bigelow's terse, tense, near perfect war movie focuses on one GI (Jeremy Renner: superb) with the skill, nerves and near suicidal bravado needed for the job. There's primal suspense in the sequences in which Renner tries to keep a car, a building or an Iraqi civilian from blowing up; we dare you not to cringe. A non-political Iraq movie—it takes no sides, no prisoners—*The Hurt Locker* uses sturdy imagery and violent action to show us that even hell needs heroes. *6/26*



### Public Enemies

Michael Mann focuses his directorial heat on '30s bad guy John Dillinger. Johnny Depp is the bank robber as superstar. *7/1*



### Inglourious Basterds

It'll be epic when Quentin Tarantino goes to war. Brad Pitt leads a Jewish-American platoon against the stinkin' Nazis. *8/21*



### The Taking of Pelham

**1 2 3** Denzel Washington counters John Travolta's heist of a New York City subway in this remake of the 1974 thriller. *6/12*



## FOR THE KIDS. AND THE KID IN YOU



### Land of the Lost

Somehow Will Ferrell, not Brendan Fraser, got this role as a scientist time-warped into the age of the dinosaurs. *6/5*



### Ice Age: Dawn of the Dinosaurs

Ferrell's scientist might run into Manny, Scrut and other cute critters here from the first two CGI cartoon hits. *7/1*



### Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince

The boy-to-man wizard faces Voldemort's full fury, plus girl trouble, in this sixth Hogwarts adventure. *7/15*



### Ponyo

A girl-fish lands in a Japanese village, with climatic consequences, in the enchanting new fantasy from animation master Hayao Miyazaki. *8/14*





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## SUMMER TV PREVIEW

**FORGET RERUNS. FIVE FRESH  
SHOWS TO WATCH WHEN THE  
DOG DAYS TURN TO NIGHT**



**The Goode Family** For his last series, *King of the Hill*, Mike Judge peered into the heart of Bush country. In his first series of the Obama era, Judge turns his satiric eye to the p.c. household of Gerald and Helen Goode, who like their produce organic and their drinks fair trade. The show is about trying to be good when every step you take adds to your carbon footprint. *ABC*; 5/27



**The Tonight Show** Conan O'Brien inherits the chair of Carson, which makes him the crown prince of late night. With Jay Leno starting a five-night show in the fall, it's not clear who will end up king. But we're hoping O'Brien can broaden his appeal while keeping his dry comic essence. He has thrived on being underestimated before. We can only hope he pulls it off again. *NBC*; 6/1



**Nurse Jackie** In this dark comedy, the former Carmela Soprano plays a different kind of power behind the throne, as she butts heads with doctors and cleans up after their mistakes. Given Edie Falco's talent for portraying complex, struggling women, we're excited to see what she can do with a series about how life, and saving life, can be exhausting work. *Showtime*; 6/8



**Hung** The title does not refer to execution, drapes or an infamous *American Idol* auditioner. It is, ahem, an adjective. This comedy series is about a former high school basketball star turned down-and-out coach (Thomas Jane) who discovers a way to change his life and career by using a certain physical, well... Oh, look—Anne Heche plays his ex-wife! *HBO*; 6/28



**Project Runway** They finally made it work! After a lawsuit, the Peabody-winning show returns (though not to Bravo) with Heidi Klum, Tim Gunn and a new companion series, *Models of the Runway*, about the leggy women who wear the fashions wrought by *Runway*'s designers. We're glad the godmother of all creative-battle reality shows is back, on any channel. *Lifetime*; 8/20



## SUMMER VISIONS. THE HOT SHOWS



### Richard Avedon

Fashion photography was sexier after Avedon got hold of it. Portraiture was more penetrating. Five years after his death, SFMOMA offers a long look at one of the greatest photographers ever. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; opens 7/11

**Yinka Shonibare** Born and based in London but raised mostly in Lagos, Nigeria, Shonibare, 47, knows all about multiculturalism. Now his art ponders the paradox of identity in a multicultural world. His headless figures wear period costumes made from "African" textiles produced in the Netherlands. The cloth might not be the genuine article, but Shonibare is. Brooklyn Museum, New York City; opens 6/26



### James Ensor

A pivotal figure in the development of 20th century Expressionism, the Belgian avant-gardist Ensor (1860-1949) was a faintly creepy original, the kind who uses the brightest colors in his paint box while he's showing you the skull beneath the skin. His vision of the world as a demonic convocation, lit by hellfires, is one you don't forget. Museum of Modern Art, New York City; opens 6/28



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# SUMMER PREVIEW

## BOOKS TO BASK WITH. COOL NEW READS FOR HOT DAYS



### South of Broad

By Pat Conroy

Conroy's first novel in 14 years is a big, soapy, heartwarming love letter to Charleston, S.C., covering 30 years in the lives of its glamorous inhabitants. 8/11



### The Girl Who Played with Fire

By Stieg Larsson

Another cerebral Swedish thriller from the author of the best-selling *Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, about sexy and brilliant but somewhat mental hacker Lisbeth Salander. 8/1



### Free: The Future of a Radical Price

By Chris Anderson

Just because newspapers, e-mail, music and software are all free online doesn't mean those businesses are dying. The man who gave us *The Long Tail* explains why. 7/7



### The Pleasures and Sorrows of Work

By Alain de Botton

In De Botton's books, philosophy and everyday life are perfectly compatible. Here he looks at a pursuit many of us would rather forget about—work—and finds unexpected beauty. 6/2



### Imperial

By William T. Vollmann

The graphomaniacal Vollmann devotes a heroic 1,300 pages to documenting one of the most loved, hated and fiercely contested scraps of land in the U.S.: California's Imperial County, which sits on the Mexican border. 8/3



### Inherent Vice

By Thomas Pynchon

Three years after the humongous *Against the Day*, the merry modernist returns with a comic-metaphysical detective tale set in the psychedelic '60s. 8/4



### Trouble

By Kate Christensen

Fresh off her award-winning novel *The Great Man*, the still underrated Christensen takes up the story of a middle-aged married woman whose long-dormant libido abruptly awakens at a party, causing her to fool around with a complete stranger. Shedding her dead marriage like a chrysalis, she and a friend Thelma-and-Louise it down to Mexico City, where the book's title just gets more and more apt. You may experience feelings of exhilaration while reading *Trouble*. This is normal and is caused by the fact that Christensen is the kind of writer who's willing to say things most people don't dare to. And she knows exactly how to say them. 6/2

**READ THESE BOOKS ON THE BEACH! BEAT THE REAPER** by Josh Bazell, **SECRETS TO HAPPINESS** by Sarah Dunn, **BEST FRIENDS FOREVER** by Jennifer Weiner, **TWENTIES GIRL** by Sophie Kinsella, **THE SLIPPERY YEAR** by Melanie Gideon, **THE DEFECTOR** by Daniel Silva

## SUMMER SOUNDS. MANDY MOORE MATURES, LIL WAYNE ROCKS AND WILCO FINDS ITSELF

1. Mandy Moore's career thus far has not suffered from an excess of musical seriousness. To her credit, she knows it, and on **AMANDA LEIGH** (May 26) the new Mrs. Ryan Adams makes a play for cred with an impeccably recorded album of mature songs. 2. Mos Def's **THE ECSTATIC** (June 9) resolves the question of how the rapper feels about Barack Obama's election, though tracks like "Life in Marvelous Times" may have limited appeal at RNC headquarters.

3. In a brilliant branding move—or a breakthrough in lazy titling—Wilco has called its new album **WILCO (THE ALBUM)** (June 30) and recorded a track called "Wilco (The Song)." 4. A decade into his messing-around period, Elvis Costello hooks up with fellow noodler T Bone Burnett for **SECRET, PROFANE & SUGARCANE** (June 2), which features two tracks Costello wrote for Johnny Cash. 5. Lil Wayne's rock album, **RE-BIRTH** (June 23), is the summer's biggest roll of the dice, as the world's greatest rapper trots out Prince-inspired

guitars, Coldplay-ish strings and an Avril Lavigne cameo.

6. Willie Nelson was an old scoundrel when he first mined the Great American Songbook on 1978's *Stardust*. On **THE NEARNESS OF YOU** (Aug. 25) there's even more grit in his throat, but there's youth too, in the form of jazz bassist Christian McBride and "Baby, It's Cold Outside" duet partner Norah Jones.







Joel

# Stein

**On Thin Ice. Only you can bar Joel Stein from ever mentioning hockey again. Hockey—it's that sport they play in Canada**

THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO FIGHT WITH YOUR BOSS. BUT after more than a decade as TIME's hockey-beat writer, a job I wrestled from no one, my editor, Josh Tyrangiel, has refused to hear any more of my hockey-story pitches, arguing that the sport is not relevant enough to be in a mass-circulation magazine. "Like most people in America, in my daily life I'm much more likely to kick something or throw something in a basket than I am to put on ice skates," Josh says. "I'm actually more likely to tackle somebody than put on skates." That's the kind of guy I'm dealing with. Before these columns are edited, they are full of earnestness and sunshine.

Luckily, I can drive anyone to a point where they get so annoyed that they yell something stupid. Josh yelled that I could write one more column about hockey during this incredibly exciting playoff season, but it had better make a convincing argument about how excellent hockey is. If I failed to convince, TIME.com readers could vote to bar me for life from ever referring to the sport again ([time.com/banjoelfromhockey](http://time.com/banjoelfromhockey)). Therefore, this is the most important column I'll ever write. Unless, of course, you vote to keep the hockey pieces coming, in which case there's a super-important column I'm planning about further reductions in goalie leg-pad sizes.

Now, I'm not actually going to ask you to watch hockey. I'm just asking you, as an educated, curious person, to be aware of its excellence. To support my case, I sought out testimonials from the busiest and most important people in the game, some of whom took more than an hour to get back to me.

Wayne Gretzky e-mailed that "TIME readers are much like hockey fans: affluent, passionate people. Why would anyone described that way want to be deprived of Joel's wisdom and wit? Joel's not an expert on much—let's at least give him his hockey!" I did not know the Great One was such a trash talker, or that he uses exclamation points like a 15-year-old girl. See, in hockey you can even make fun of one of the greatest players ever! Try that on Mike Tyson.

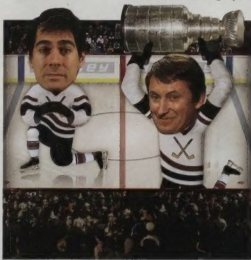
In a friend-of-the-court essay written to advance my cause ([time.com/kevinsmith](http://time.com/kevinsmith)), director Kevin Smith ar-

gued that hockey has "Heroes! Villains! Costumes! Masks! Fights! It's a comic book come to life... at any moment, someone might try to punch someone else in the face!" Oddly, NHL commissioner Gary Bettman was less effusive. When I asked him to sell his sport, he pointed out, "The players all grow playoff beards. It's their commitment to the cause, the bond of the team." But Bettman did add that anyone who watches "Washington play Pittsburgh and sees Ovechkin play Crosby" will catch hockey fever. When I e-mailed this to Josh, he responded by sending me a news story about how Washington and Pittsburgh had to reschedule a playoff game due to a conflict with a Yanni concert. Yanni not only won the fight but cruelly taunted hockey fans by recently shaving two decades of facial hair.

Three-time Stanley Cup champion Brendan Shanahan, the NHL's active goal-scoring leader, argued that while NHL players are often accused of being boring and Canadian, many are not even Canadian. I asked Shanahan for an exciting fact about himself, and he thought for a moment. "I have a photographic memory in any sort of movie game," he said. I pressed him for something else: "My beard grows every three hours and looks completely gray. I make Brett Favre look young." Seriously, the NHL has got to abandon this beard campaign.

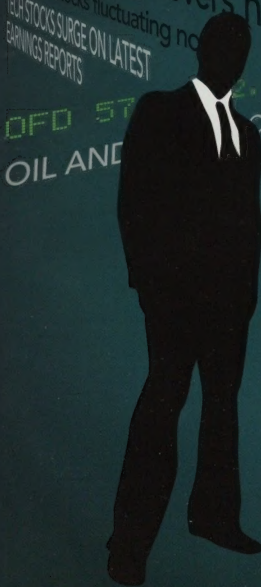
Is any of this working? Because I haven't even mentioned the fact that the NHL will let me do things no sport that doesn't involve animals will. I've played goalie at a New York Islanders practice even though I can't skate. I've brought the Stanley Cup to a pawnshop. The league has even offered to let me be commissioner for a day. When I pitched that last idea, Josh said, "If the NHL would let you be commissioner for a year, we'd have something. Because then you'd change that stupid sport."

I'm not deluding myself. I know hockey is a subculture and that few of you will join it. But you should still vote to let me write about it. We're at risk of becoming a society in which we read only about topics we're already interested in, and TIME is one of the last places that tries to satisfy the intellectually curious. Besides, if you choose not to drive a Zamboni across my heart, there's a fair chance I could get Gretzky to grow a Yanni 'stache. ■





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